September 1890

John R. Oliver.

No. 196

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LIVY,

BOOKS XXI. AND XXII.

LIVY

BOOKS XXI. AND XXII.

HANNIBAL'S FIRST CAMPAIGN IN ITALY.

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTIONS, NOTES, APPENDICES, AND MAPS,

BY THE

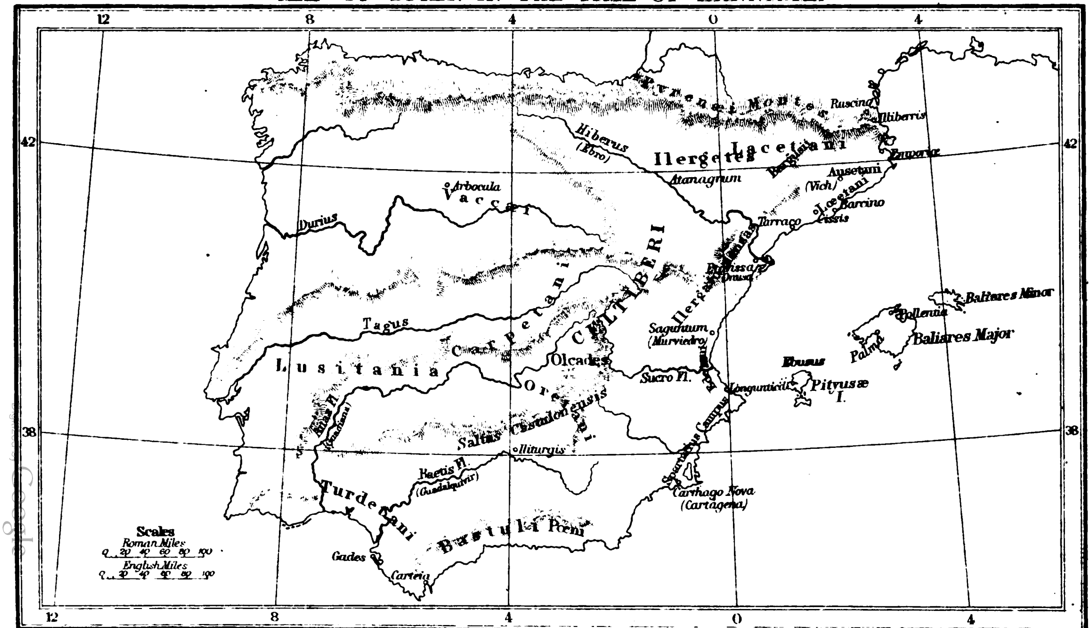
REV. W. W. CAPES,
FELLOW OF HERTFORD COLLEGE, AND READER
IN ANCIENT HISTORY, OXFORD.

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Chas H. Munroe Jr
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MAP OF SPAIN IN THE TIME OF HANNIBAL



Capes' Livy XXI. XXII.

Stanford's Geog! Estab!

London, Macmillan & Co.

PREFACE.

The text of Livy which is here adopted is a reprint of Madvig's, whose *Emendationes Livianæ* discuss most of the important variations from the common text. To that work therefore reference is made when Madvig's authority or arguments are mentioned in the notes.

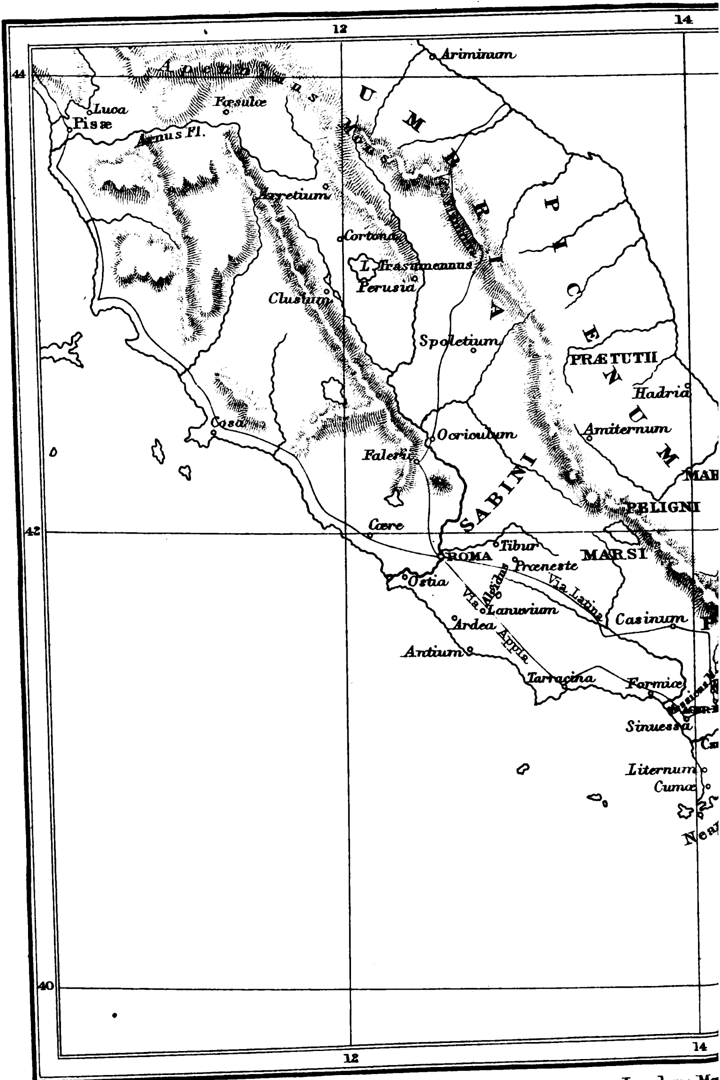
In matters of Latinity the commentary of Fabri, as enlarged by Heerwagen, has been found most useful, especially the illustrations drawn from Latin authors. Weissenborn's notes for German schools are quoted only (as W) when they contain information which is not to be found in earlier commentators.

In questions of etymology most stress is laid upon the views of Corssen in his *Aussprache, Vocalismus, u. Betonung der Lateinischen Sprache.*

For the subjects treated specially in the Introductions and Appendices the chief authorities are in each case mentioned; others have often been referred to, but it has not been thought desirable to crowd the notes with names.

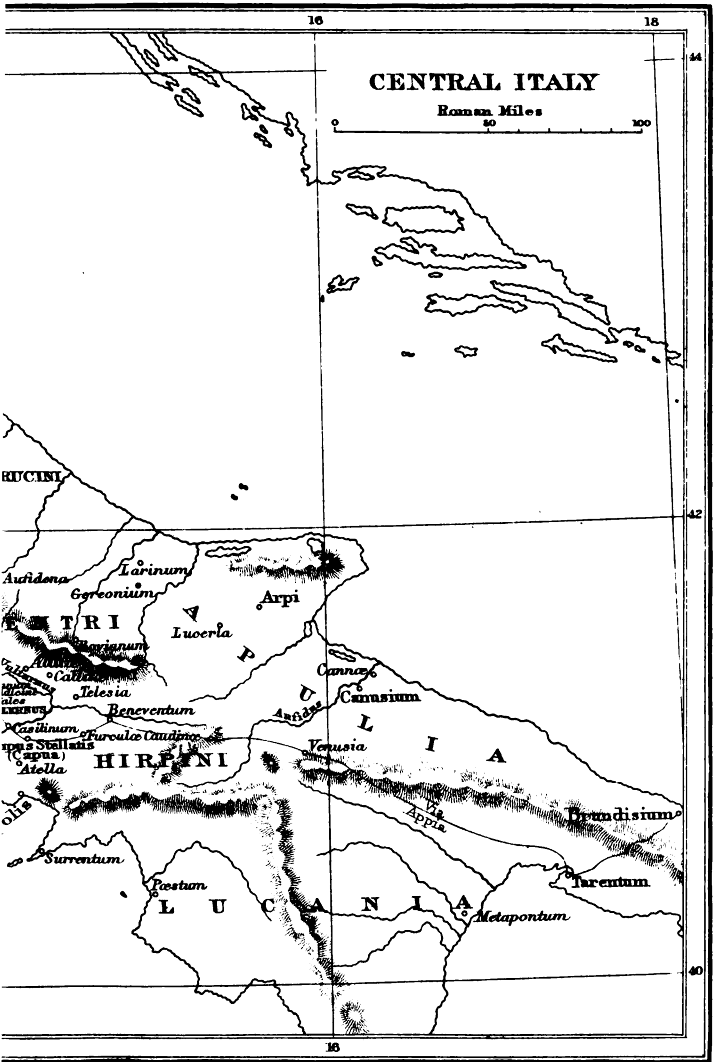
BRAMSHOTT,
August, 1878.

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Capes' Livy XXI. XXII.

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INTRODUCTION. I.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF CARTHAGE AND THE ANTECEDENTS OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR *.

In the earliest times of which history can take account we find the traces of an active trade in the Mediterranean waters which was mainly in the hands of the Phœnician merchants. The enterprising race which peopled the narrow strip of Canaan hemmed in between the mountains and the sea, soon found out its vocation in the carrying trade of the prehistoric world. Its colonists pushed their way along the coast of Asia Minor, and through the isles of the Ægean, planting their factories on every favoured spot, and opening up the mineral wealth or purple fisheries of the countries on their way; their interchange of national products gave the first stimulus to the energy of many a backward race, while their merchant navy probably supplied the wants of the great land

* Compare especially Polybius, Book I.; Heeren, *Carthaginians;* Movers, *Phœnizier;* Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne.*

power of Egypt, bringing together the scattered elements of tin and copper to be combined by the industrial arts of the early age of bronze. The course of these Phœnician adventurers was directed almost wholly by the interests of trade, but on the Northern coast of Africa their colonies assumed another character. There were indeed some early settlements from Sidon on the shore, as at Hippo and at Cambe, but these were probably of little note, till larger streams of immigrants appeared, who, unlike the rest, betook themselves to the interior, and lived an agricultural life. There is reason to believe that they were Canaanites from the inland, dispossessed perhaps by Israel under Joshua from the country on the North of Palestine, and guided from the ports of Sidon to their new homes by pilots already familiar with the country. Here they may have found some kindred races, peoples of the Hittite stock, who had spread from Egypt in the period known as that of the invasion of the Shepherd dynasties. The new comers mingled with the native Libyans, and from their union in the course of ages grew the numerous populations found in later times in Zeugitana and Byzacene, and known as a mixed race by the name of Liby-phœnicians.

When Sidon fell before a sudden onset of the Philistines in B.C. 1209, Tyre stepped into her place, as the chief power of the Phœnician league, which took up henceforth a more decided policy in the far West.

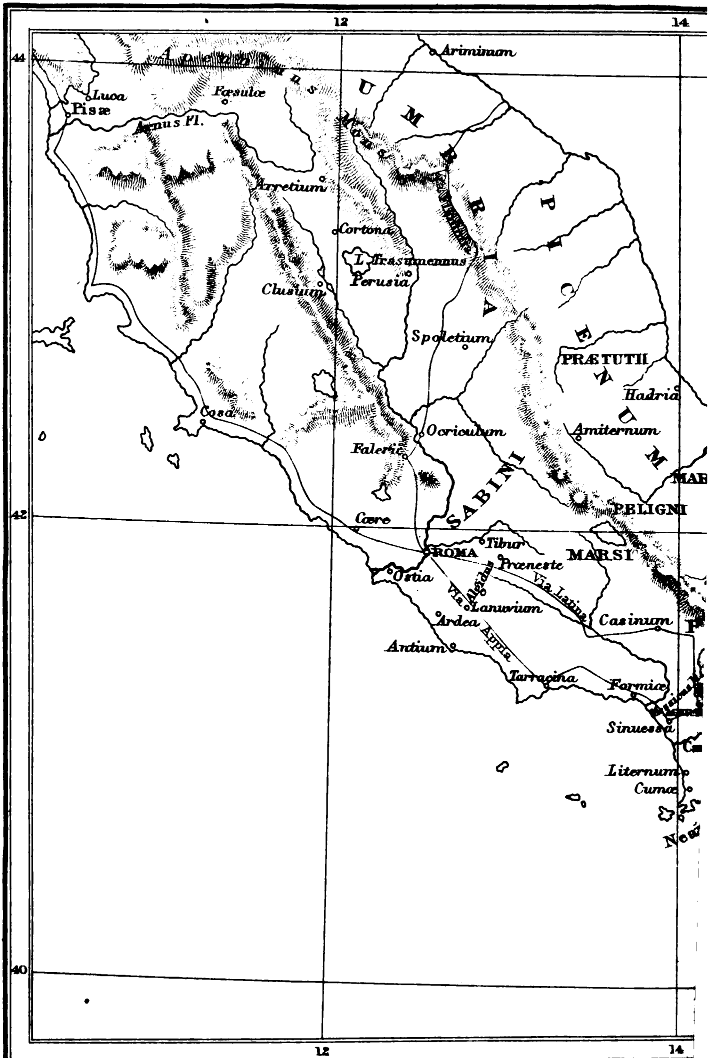
In the neighbourhood of the Ægean the Carian pirates and the Ionian traders were as enterprising as themselves, and one after another their factories had to be deserted, or fell into their rivals' hands, but in the West they came only into contact with less civilised races, who had no navy on their seas, and felt little jealousy of the modest settlements upon their coasts. First they planted the important town of Utica, and coasting thence they pushed across to Gades, where, attracted by the mines and other wealth of Southern Spain—the Tarsis of traditional fancy—they made a chain of factories and forts along the shores up to and even beyond the Pyrenees, not forgetting to gain a foothold upon the neighbouring islands, and Sardinia above all. But rapid as was the progress of these colonies, they were all of them eclipsed by the brilliant fortunes of a younger sister. Some noble refugees from Tyre, flying under the guidance of Elissar, Vergil's Dido, settled on the almost deserted site of the old Sidonian Cambe, near the centre of the great basin formed by the gulf of Tunis. There they resolved to make a home, and built themselves a stronghold which they called 'a new city,' Kirjath-Hadéschath, known to the Latins as Carthago (B.C. 872). The energy, and wealth, and powerful connections of the emigrants secured for the new settlement a rapid start in social progress; its happy site between the rich corn lands of the Bagradas, and the splendid anchorage of its

natural harbours, seemed to mark out for it a career of supremacy in trade; while there were many possible allies and friends in the kindred communities upon the neighbouring coasts, or in the Liby-phœnicians of the main land. With such consciousness of growing strength they could not long maintain the humble attitude towards the native races, which is typified in the tradition of the tribute paid for the ground on which the city had been built. Forced therefore before long into collision with the Libyan peoples, they forsook the old Phœnician policy which shrank from territorial conquests, save on islands or projecting headlands; step by step they pushed their way into the interior, annexing wide tracts of cultivated soil, and driving back the Nomad tribes into their deserts.

Other causes also tended to force them into a career of imperial ambition. When Tyre was ruined by Nabuchodorossor, her colonies in the far West, in Sicily, Sardinia, Africa, and Spain, were thrown unprepared upon their own resources. The native races rose against them, the jealous Greeks seized the moment of their rivals' weakness, and there was nothing for it but to look round for timely aid or perish. They turned in their despair to Carthage, their vigorous and wealthy sister: she in her turn took up the legacy bequeathed by Tyre, and found a colonial empire ready made. But she had to fight hard to maintain it. War-navies were needed to

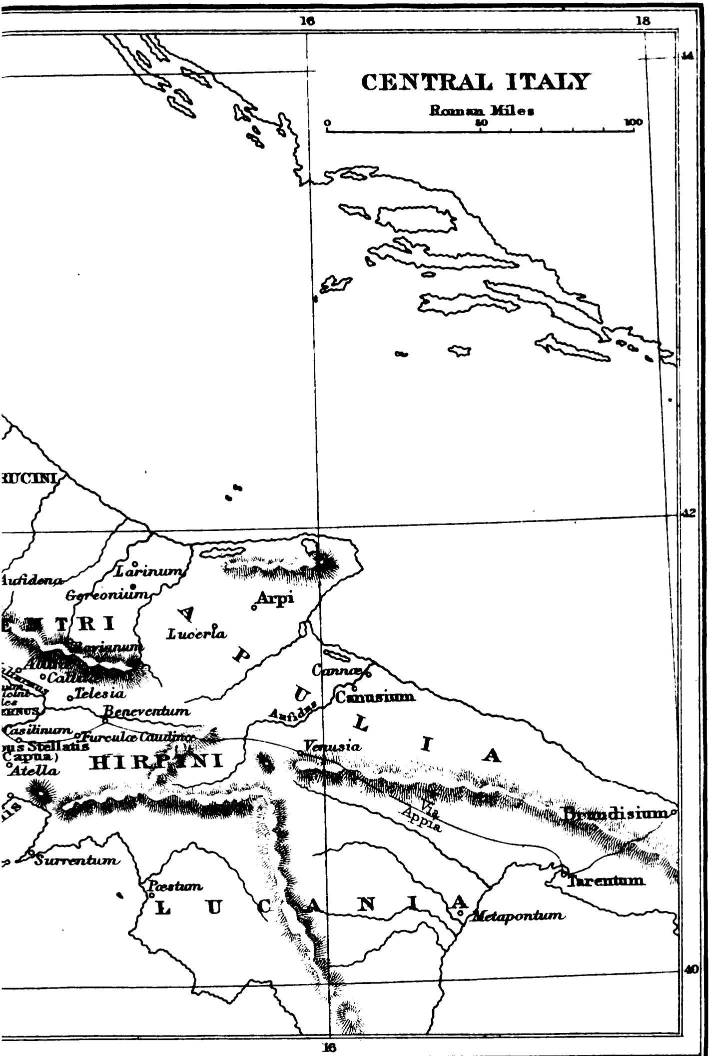
keep her hold upon the distant islands: Liby-phœnicians were drilled and armed and sent as colonists to secure the mines of Southern Spain, endangered by the native tribes. Their old enemies, the Greeks, meanwhile were making steady progress. Much of the coast line of Sicily was in their hands, Phocæan colonies were planted on the shores of Gaul, as at Massilia, and on the North-East of Spain, and nearer home in Africa, the prosperous Cyrene was soon to trouble them with rivalry and war; Carthage accepted the defiance, and engaged as in a duel that must be fought out to the bitter end. After a hard-fought struggle she checked the advance of the Phocæan colonists, destroyed one after another of their towns, and swept their navies from the sea, even forcing humbled Massilia to submit to see a Punic factory rise within sight of its port, some trace of which was found a few years since in a tariff of the sacrifices to be used in Baal's temple, as sanctioned by the magistrates of Carthage. With Cyrene she disputed merely the paramount lordship over the Libyan races, but after long hostilities they found that in that wide continent there was room enough for a separate career for each, and agreed upon a frontier line, to which tradition gave the name of the altars of the Philæni, from a romantic legend of the self-devotion of the arbitrators sent from Carthage.

But on the other hand the Greeks of Sicily stood



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resolutely at bay; time after time great armaments from Carthage landed in the island, enough as it might seem to sweep away all before them, and many of the old cities were ruined in the course of the long struggle, but Syracuse, weakened as she was, was able to the last to make head against her ancient enemy, driving her back sometimes to a little corner of the North-West, once even carrying the war to the very doors of Carthage, and at last only dropping it when Rome was there to take it up with greater might.

Meanwhile the power of Carthage was growing to the fulness of its stature. Though unable to conquer Sicily entirely, she had tightened her grasp upon the islands near it. Sardinia was wholly hers, and she ruled it with such skill and wise economy that after three centuries of tenure she left large parts of it a fair and fruitful garden, to become afterwards, in the hands of other masters, waste and wild.

The Balearic isles formed convenient stepping stones across the sea to Spain, whose coasting trade she now possessed without a rival. Along the continent of Africa she stretched her arms, making or strengthening on the fringe of Mauretania a long line of forts, known as the Metagonitæ; her surplus population was drafted off in numerous colonies, which spread the civilized arts of peace in the interior, and drove further back the clouds of Nomad savagery. At home she opened up the resources of her fertile

country, making husbandry and irrigation matters of scientific study, so that even the Roman senate in a later age thought her books on agriculture worthy of translation. Abroad, she guided the streams of trade to every quarter, now opening up relations with the heart of Africa by means of caravans, now turning to account in Spain the old Phœnician skill in mining, now with daring enterprise exploring regions hitherto unknown.

Of two such attempts especially we have some detailed accounts. One called the Periplus of Hanno was a long coasting voyage along the South-West of Africa to about the 8th degree of latitude, conducted by the order of the State with a fleet of 60 vessels. On his return the admiral drew up a report officially, which was consigned to the archives in the temple of Baal, and part of it is still extant in a Greek translation. We may still perhaps distinguish in his narrative the crocodiles of Senegal, the sweet-scented forests of Cape Verde, the lofty mountains of Sierra Leone, and the fantastic forms of the Gorillas, so called from a faulty reading of a passage in the Periplus. The second enterprise under Himilco was directed along the coast of Portugal and Gaul, and thence across to the Cassiterides or Scilly Isles, at which Phœnician adventure in olden times had stopped in its quest for tin, but from which the Carthaginians pushed on to the neighbouring shores of Cornwall and of Ireland.

It is time perhaps to turn from such romantic tales of early navigation to inquire what was the nature of the first relations between this Queen of Western Trade and Rome. The earliest historic datum is furnished by the treaty in Polybius (III. 22), which was concluded in the year after the expulsion of the Tarquins (B.C. 509), and the archaic terms of which in the original Latin were scarcely intelligible in the days of the historian. The Carthaginians on their side pledged themselves not to disturb any of the subjects or allies of Rome, not to hold any fortress or attack a town in Latium, while Rome covenanted for herself and her allies not to sail or trade in Africa beyond the headland to the West of Carthage. Sicily was to be a neutral ground for commerce, in which both were to enjoy like rights.

The treaty points to the increasing enterprise of the Italian traders which stirred so soon the jealousy of Carthage, and to the corsairs of the latter power whose visits were dreaded even then in the Tyrrhenian waters, as when they combined with the Etruscans to crush the Phocæans of Alalia.

A century afterwards a second treaty (B.C. 347) opened the markets of Rome and Carthage to each other, but the former was not to trade in Libya or Sardinia, the latter was to spare the subject-soil of Rome from piracy and damage. Carthage spoke in this case in the name of Utica and of the free Tyrian peoples. This treaty closed to Roman traders many

of the ports which the former had left open, and therefore marked the jealous policy of Carthage, which hoped to monopolize the sources of her wealth.

A third treaty in the time of Pyrrhus (B.C. 279) provided for an alliance of an offensive and defensive nature in which Carthage was to lend its fleet, but maintained the restrictions on free trade. So far it has been seen that Sicily was regarded as commercially a neutral ground between the powers, but it was soon to be their battle field. The long struggle for the possession of the island had greatly weakened Syracuse and ruined most of the Greek cities. One of the few that were still left standing, Messana, was seized by a lawless band of Campanian soldiers turned freebooters, who followed a course that had been popular of late at Rhegium and elsewhere. There they were soon attacked by Hiero, who, first as general, then as king, had lately trained to order the turbulent populace of Syracuse, and revived the dignity of the Sicilian Greeks. Hard pressed by the besiegers the Mamertini, 'men of Mars,' as the free lances called themselves, could only baffle Hiero by turning to Carthage or to Rome, and rival parties in the city made overtures to each. The former was first upon the scene, and her soldiers in the citadel. But Rome who had sternly punished a like act of Campanian treachery at Rhegium, and was besides in league with Hiero the avenger, could not turn her back on the temptation of gaining a footing on the soil of Sicily, with a safe

passage in the straits. She enrolled the Mamertines as her allies, and sent a general to the rescue, who by dexterous use of wiles and force ousted the Carthaginians from Messana. So began the first Punic war (B.C. 264), the first act in a long tragedy of bloodshed.

The steady infantry of the Romans swept before it the motley gatherings of mercenaries brought against them in the field, and Hiero, who had little to hope except a choice of masters, changed sides after a campaign or two, and joined the stronger, whose success he dreaded least. But the war in Sicily could not be decided by hard fighting on the open field. A period of slow sieges followed, and Rome's success was more than balanced by the fleets of privateers which ravaged the coasts of Italy and ruined all its trade, while Carthage was mistress of the seas. Then Rome decided to create a navy. She could not raise at once skilled sailors to manœuvre with precision, and more than one great fleet was lost by the rashness or inexperience of her captains: but she could so build as to enable them to grapple and board each ship that came alongside, and to decide the battle by sheer weight of discipline and numbers. Her navy so constructed swept the seas, and landed her legions under Regulus almost within sight of Carthage, but the rash confidence of general and senate while dictating haughty terms of peace kept the weakened army long inactive, to be crushed at length by overpowering numbers. The well-aimed blow failed utterly, and fresh disasters

followed, as fleet after fleet was wrecked by storms, or sunk, or taken by the enemy, till Rome sullenly withdrew from her adventurous policy upon the sea, and confined herself to drawing closer the besieging lines round Drepane and Lilybæum, and the little corner of the North-West of Sicily in which the Carthaginians lay entrenched. But now her fortune seemed to fail her even there, for a commander of genius confronted her. Hamilcar Barca (Barak, lightning) drilled his crowd of fighting-men into an army worthy of its leader; trained them in a war of outposts to withstand the onset of the legions; found natural strongholds first at Ercte then at Eryx, where safe within his lines he could defy attack, so long as the approach by sea was in his grasp.

So years passed away and victory seemed no nearer, while the trade of Italy was ruined and the treasury was exhausted.

But the spirit of the citizens rose higher as the star of Rome's fortunes seemed to sink. Wealthy volunteers came forward with the offer of a fleet, built and equipped at their expense, to make one more bold stroke for possession of the seas. Rome was once more a naval power. The Carthaginians, unprepared for energy so great, had neglected to keep up their navy; the convoys and the transports hastily despatched with the supplies for the Sicilian forts, scantily equipped and badly handled, made a poor show of resistance to the admiral Lutatius, whose victory off

Ægusa crushed for the present all the naval power of Carthage (B.C. 241). The blow was quite decisive. Hamilcar with all his brilliant genius could not hold his highland fortress without access to the sea, and the door had been abruptly closed. At home there were no ships in the arsenals to send him, there was no army except his, there were no levies to meet the legions who might land within sight of Carthage.

They had suffered probably far less than their enemy, to whom the war had caused a fearful loss of men and money: but they were in no heroic mood, and Hamilcar was forced to offer submission in their name. The terms of peace were moderate enough. Sicily had to be surrendered, and a war-contribution to be paid, which was raised from 2000 to 3200 talents, when commissioners were sent from Rome to supersede Lutatius and to conclude a definitive treaty. Carthage was left a sovereign power, though bound as was Rome itself by the condition, that neither should deal separately with the dependent allies of the other.

It may be well to gather up some of the lessons of the war. It had been proved first that Carthage was no match for Rome in calm and pertinacious vigour. Her resolution was thrown into the shade by the energy with which Rome first created a war navy, and struggled on while fleet after fleet perished by untoward fate, and hostile privateers swept her coasts of merchant shipping. Phœnician enterprise was overmatched on its own element; first it failed in

power of speedy adaptation to the new conditions of the times; next it neglected to put forth all its strength to keep the advantage it had gained.

For Carthage was essentially a trading power, as such it hankered after a policy of peace, and only fitfully encouraged its dreams of imperial ambition.

Secondly, there was a difference in the position of the general in chief of the two states. The commander of the legions was a statesman or a party leader transferred suddenly into the camp: like every Roman, he had had a soldier's training, but when his wealth, or birth, or civil services, or powerful connections had raised him to the highest rank of consul, he had yet to prove his fitness for supreme command. He might leave his mark on history in one short campaign, but the brave rank and file had often cause to rue his inexperience or rash ambition. The single year of office was far too short for a good general, and too long for a bad one. At Carthage the profession of a soldier was often special and life-long. The able man, once found, continued long in office, and could carry out a policy of patient genius like that of Hamilcar, though unlucky blunderers provoked sometimes a burst of fury, and were crucified as a warning to the rest.

But this was balanced by a difference still more marked. The armies of Rome were at once citizens and soldiers, were drilled and trained from early years, called out on active service to fight for their

homes and fatherland. Carthage relied upon her wealth to buy the raw material of her armies. Her people were too busy at their work of agriculture, industry, or commerce, to be spared for the soldier's unproductive trade; but there was no lack of markets in ruder and less civilized countries where men might be had for money's worth. Their recruiting officers went far afield, and the motley host thus gathered to their banners must have presented a strange spectacle indeed, as Heeren pictures to our fancy. "Hordes of half-naked Gauls were ranged next to companies of white-clothed Iberians, and savage Ligurians next to the far-travelled Nasamones and Lotophagi; Carthaginians and Liby-phœnicians formed the centre, the former of whom were a sort of separate corps, dignified by the title of the sacred legion; while innumerable troops of Numidian horsemen, taken from all the tribes of the desert, swarmed around upon unsaddled horses, and formed the wings; the van was composed of Balearic slingers, and a line of colossal elephants, with their Ethiopian guides, formed as it were a chain of moving fortresses before the whole army."

Multitudinous gatherings like these took time to raise, still more to hold well in hand and turn to good account; pestilence often hovered in their train, and they were commonly soon shattered by the onset of steady infantry like that of Rome. There was yet another danger in their use, which was now to be brought home to them in an appalling shape.

The war once over, it remained to pay the arrears and to disband the army. But the funds were long in coming, and the men shipped cautiously in small detachments were allowed to meet once more in Africa, to fan each other's discontent, invent wild stories of the plans hatched for their destruction, and break out at last in open mutiny. So began the disastrous Mercenary war.

The hardy veterans found daring leaders who swept the open country with their arms and carried all before them for a time. Nor was that the only danger to the state. The subject populations all around had little love for the proud city who had been so imperious a mistress. Except a favoured few who had preserved their independence as Phœnician colonies upon the coast, the rest had been governed with a rod of iron, and taxed oppressively in men and money to support the imperial policy of Carthage. In the background rolled the threatening clouds of Nomads, who had never ceased to hate her for her stern repression of their licence. Among all these a smouldering fire of disaffection burnt, which was now to burst into a flame. On every side they made common cause with the insurgent army, and raised the banner of revolt. So Carthage stood upon the very brink of ruin. Besides the enemies thus leagued against her, she suffered from the spirit of faction which crippled her policy and checked her arms. Her foremost leaders, Hamilcar and Hanno, wasted in their mutual jealousy the

strength which should have been turned against the common enemy: each was singly tried a while, and each failed in turn to close the war, till no course was left but to plead with them in their country's name, to drop their rivalries in the sense of overwhelming danger. That done the prospect brightened, and the terrible insurrection was trampled out at last.

But friends and enemies alike had learnt two lessons from the war.

1. It had revealed the chronic danger of all mercenary troops, who might at any moment turn against their own paymasters, and ruin the State while off its guard.

2. It had laid bare the weakest point in the home-rule of Carthage. Her failure to win the loyalty of her allies near home was very fatal. She would not let their towns be walled in her jealous fears of disaffection. An invader might therefore march at his will through open country, and look to find thousands rally to his standard. The Syracusan Agathocles, the Roman Regulus, had each tried in this way to close the war by a decisive blow: a surer hand would one day succeed where they had failed.

What was the attitude of Rome meanwhile, when her late enemy was fighting thus for very life? At first she was entirely neutral; there was indeed some diplomatic talk of the complaints of the Italian traders whose interests were wounded by the blockade of the insurgent towns, but for a time she was ashamed to

take advantage of a rival's weakness. As the war went on however, and the mutinous garrison of Sardinia offered the island and themselves to Rome, the temptation was too strong, and the offer was accepted. The protests of Carthage were cynically met with threats of war, and the complainant sullenly retired to brood over her wrongs and hopes of vengeance. It was this wrong that rankled in her memory, and made the peace only a short breathing space in a duel of life and death.

Hamilcar above all felt the ignominy keenly, dogged as he was by factious spirits which taunted him with all the losses of the war, or even formally impeached him. To hold his own he had to find or organize a party, and possibly to tamper with the spirit of the constitution. Our authorities, familiar chiefly with the civil strife of Greece and Rome, speak as if he became the head of the democratic party, of which Hasdrubal, his future son-in-law, was a marked leader. This may lead us to inquire what were the distinctive forms of the government of Carthage.

The noble emigrants who fled from Tyre seem to have given a bias to the infant State which lasted on in the stable aristocracy of later ages. A few ruling families held the chief power in their hands, not by established right of an hereditary peerage, but by the wealth and merit and the proud traditions which won them the affections of the people. For some sort of popular assembly, though how arranged we are not

told, held the elections of the magistrates, and debated state affairs of high importance, but it was not above suspicion in its choice, for Aristotle says expressly, that the highest offices were bought and sold. Above it stood the senate, which is constantly referred to in our authors as the working machinery of government, through which all questions of foreign policy must pass, as well as all the business of legislation. It was a numerous body, with settled aims and definite traditions, with probably a lengthy, if not a lifelong tenure of their office. Within the circle of this senate or *synkletos* we hear of a more select and smaller body (*concilium*, γερουσία) which was held, as Livy says, in highest reverence, and had a paramount control over the senate (id sanctius apud illos concilium, maximaque ad ipsum senatum regendum vis, Livy xxx. 16. 3). Its origin is thus explained by Justin (xix. 2 ap. Heeren p. 122) as due to the jealousy with which an aristocracy regards the paramount power of any of its body: "As the house of Mago became dangerous to a free state, an hundred judges were chosen from among the senators, who upon the return of generals from the war, should demand an account of the things transacted by them, that they being thereby kept in awe, should so bear themselves in their command, as to have regard to the laws and judicature at home." As the highest state tribunal and guardian of the constitution, doing its duty without reward or fee, it gained a moral influence and power which it may have sometimes

harshly used in the interest of the established order, or even tended to become a sort of social inquisition.

The choice of this inner council rested with the *pentarchies*, or boards of five, who seem to have discharged many of the executive functions of the state. It is probable that they corresponded to the chief departments of the Civil Service, and their long tenure of their office commonly secured a stable and coherent system of administration.

At the head of the whole Republic stood *suffetes* (*schophetim* in Hebrew) who were called by the Greek writers *kings*. These were appointed by election from the chief families of state, and were probably two in number, as Polybius compares them with the Roman consuls, though Cicero (*de Republica* II. 23) specially contrasts them with the magistrates who were annually changed, and implies therefore a longer term of power. The Roman consuls, up to the Punic wars at least, were commanders of the legions, but Carthage kept distinct the civil and the military power. The general came next in order to the *suffes*, and in his election regard was also had to rank and wealth. The nomination rested with the council (γερουσία), but the sanction of the senate and the people was required.

On the whole it was an aristocracy of wealth and talent. The governing families were careful to observe the constitutional forms. They asked, or bought, the votes of the electors; they referred grave questions to the popular assembly; by colonial grants

they consulted the material interests of the poorer classes, at the same time respecting their pride of self-respect even while ruling in their name.

Of the people itself we know not much, but we may do their memory a wrong if we repeat without misgiving the comments of the Greeks or Romans. It is idle to say they were effeminate because they mostly did not care to fight themselves in foreign wars. The Phœnicians, of whose race they came, were no soldiers, but they were no cowards. It needed courage and the spirit of adventure to make their way among wild races, to brave the dangers of the unknown waters, and be the pioneers of civilized progress. It is true that they had not, like the Romans, the barbaric pride which thought that war was noble, but industry was mean: they had little mind to fight for imperial interests which did not move them greatly, and were well content to see their rulers buy soldiers in a cheaper market. It is rash to say they had no sense of honour, because Aristotle tells us that offices of state were bought and sold. It may be true to own that in their race the political instincts were less strong than other motives, but we shall do well to remember that the French monarchy with all its talk of honour sold public offices by thousands, and if it be a question simply of bribery at elections, Englishmen had, till lately, little right to condemn others.

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6. The passages of the two writers in which the features of resemblance are most marked, are those in which Hannibal is throughout the moving spirit of the scenes, and the fortunes of his soldiers are described in most detail.

They deal with the march of the invading army, with the fields of battle, and the vicissitudes of the campaigns. The touches here are often very delicate and minute, and the narrative is that of an eye-witness, or of one whose information could be drawn from Carthaginian sources.

One such especially is known to us by name, the Greek Silenus, who is said to have served from first to last in Hannibal's campaigns (Corn. Nepos, *Hann.* 13) and to have written with great care the history of his wars (Cic. *de Divin.* I. 24), and as such is quoted as an authority by Livy (XXVI. 49. 3). Contemporary evidence of so high an order, which is referred to by writers of two centuries later, could hardly fail to be consulted by a painstaking author like Polybius, and his silence on the subject goes for little, as it was not the practice of those times to mention earlier authorities except when the data were specially conflicting. Silenus was certainly consulted by the Roman writers on the Punic wars, and there is good reason for believing that part of Livy's narrative takes from this source much of its colour and contents. But it does not therefore follow that Silenus was directly used by Livy, as the

materials collected by him may have been worked up by other hands into something like the form in which we have them in their Latin dress. In dealing with this question we may do best to consider first the other parts of Livy's story, where Rome itself is the centre of the scene, and the information must have come from Roman sources. What were the authorities which could be consulted here, and in what way do they seem to have been used? It is needful perhaps here to enter into more details.

7. In early ages it had been the practice to put out an official register of the names of the magistrates elected, with some sort of scanty calendar of general news. The priests were in Rome, as often elsewhere, the earliest chroniclers, and the meagre notices which the chief Pontiff (*Pontifex summus*) posted on a whitened board, grew lengthier as time went on, and the practice of registration became more complete. The materials thus collected year by year were the groundwork of a national chronicle, which was kept in the Archives of the Pontiffs, and formed at the period of the last revision a series of some eighty books. In form it was a sort of diary on which were noted the results of the elections, and the chief events of national importance. In the interests of the priesthood it was natural to find room for all the matters which especially concerned them; the august ceremonials of the state religion: the eclipses of the sun and moon: the fasts and feasts

and days of evil omen to be noted on the calendar: the prodigies and freaks of nature which in stirring times excited the fancy of a superstitious people—these were set down with an exceeding fulness of detail—as facts which deserved careful study in the present, and were likely to be of interest to after generations.

8. The early writers in their history of the past freely used the outlines which were thus ready to their hand, and adopted a like order in the narrative of their own times. Here and there indeed complaints were made of such meagre chronicles of petty and disjointed facts, and it was urged that there could be no national order or historical perspective in a continuous diary where no attempt was made to trace the connection between causes and effects, but the memory was overloaded with ill-digested food. A narrative so written, said Sempronius Asellio, can hardly rise above the dignity of nursery tales (Aul. Gell. v. 18). But still from first to last the prevailing practice with the historians of Rome was to set down year by year the order of events, mentioning first the results of the elections, the division of the Provinces and Legions, the prodigies which stirred the public mind, the starting of the Generals for the scenes of war, and the doings of the armies on the field of battle. In these respects the difference between the earlier and later writers consisted chiefly in the qualities of style and

literary treatment, for which the first chroniclers cared little, but which seemed of paramount importance as the taste for rhetoric increased. Thus Cicero speaks contemptuously of the meagre and graceless annals, rough hewn, as he implies, by prentice hands which had as yet no experience or skill of literary craft (*De Orat.* II. 12).

The earlier chroniclers, he adds, seem to have chiefly aimed at brevity, and to have told their story simply, without a thought of grace or diction (non exornatores sed narratores). Of those included in this sweeping criticism the first recorded were contemporaries of the First Punic war. Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus both bore a part in the great struggle, and are referred to as authorities by Livy, as men who helped to make history as well as write it. Of those who followed some like M. Porcius Cato and L. Calpurnius Piso took a high rank in the world of politics, but are included in Cicero's sweeping censure as historians without a style. The first who aimed at dignity of language was Cælius Antipater, who lived in the period of the Gracchi, a century later than the first chroniclers just mentioned. There was little elegance indeed, adds Cicero (*de leg.* I. 2), in the rough vigour of his style, but at least we may see in him the first beginning of something like literary care (*paulo inflavit vehementius habuitque vires agrestes ille quidem atque horridas, sine nitore ac palæstra: sed tamen admonere reliquos potuit, ut accuratius scri-*

berent). In later times indeed the caprice of fashion fondly recurred to the old models of archaic diction, and the accomplished Emperor Hadrian, who set up for a literary critic, avowed his preference of Cælius Antipater to Sallust (Spartian. *Hadr.* 16). His writings were evidently in good repute at the end of the Republic, for Brutus took the trouble to compress them into shorter form, and Cicero asks Atticus to send him the Epitome of which he had just heard (*Epitomen Bruti Cælianorum*, Cic. *ad Att.* XIII. 8). His history of the Punic war was singled out for special mention (*in proemio belli Punici*, Cic. *Or.* 69), and in this we are told that he followed Silenus very closely (Cic. *de divin.* I. 24). In the third decade Livy mentions him more often than any other writer, and in terms which show that his evidence ranked very high, and should be weighed in any conflict of authorities. There is reason to believe that he was often used when not explicitly referred to. The dream of Hannibal at Onusa, as found in Livy XXI. 22. 5, agrees with the description, somewhat more fully given, in a fragment of Cælius which Cicero has preserved for us (*de divin.* I. 24), and which as we are told was first drawn from Silenus. So too of the omens before the disaster at Lake Trasimene (Liv. XXII. 3), which Cicero (*de div.* I. 35) quotes to like effect from Cælius, as also in the account of the earthquake which passed unnoticed by the combatants in the same battle. There are a few words quoted from

him by Priscian (XIII. 96), *antequam Barca perierat, alii rei causa in Africam missus est*, which seem to point to the recall of Hannibal to Africa after some years of stay in Carthage, to which he had returned in early life,—a residence required to reconcile the expressions used by Livy, though he has neglected explicitly to state it. There are also verbal similarities which point in the same direction, as in the passage of Cælius preserved by A. Gellius (x. 24. 6), *si vis mihi equitatum dare, et ipse cum cetero exercitu me sequi, die quinti Romæ in Capitolium curabo tibi cena sit cocta*, compared with that of Livy XXII. 51. 2: as also another which we find in Priscian III. 607, *dextimos in dextris, scuta jubet habere*, to which we may trace a likeness in Livy XXII. 50. 11. It is not unlikely therefore that a writer in good repute like Cælius, whose style had more force and colour in it than the bare and rugged annalists' of earlier days, should have been freely used by Livy with little effort to hunt up his authorities, or to compare the various sources fused into the current narrative. Occasional discrepancies noted by the former were probably reported also by the latter, who sometimes exercised his judgment on them, but did not always, as we may suppose, carry the criticism further, or look for fresh evidence to decide the question. The manual effort of collating many authors, of unfolding the long rolls in which their histories were written, and poring over their archaic style, was sure to be distasteful to a man of

Livy's tastes; the critical standard of the age did not require such labour at his hands; the reading public had not such severe historic canons, and much preferred a piece of fine writing to proof of antiquarian research, and Livy naturally enough catered for the literary appetites which he found around him. The work which he had set himself to do seemed great enough, and left him little leisure to sift and to compare; the history of seven centuries stretched out before him, and he hurried on to rear his noble monument to the memory of the Great Republic.

In this way may be probably explained both the features of agreement and of difference between Polybius and Livy, by supposing that some of the same sources may be traced in both, from which the former drew directly, while the latter used them as he found them worked up already in the narrative of one who was almost a contemporary of the Greek writer. The theory itself is worthy of acceptance, even if we do not lay much stress upon the evidence which seems to point to Silenus as the common authority of both alike, and to Cælius as the compiler of the Roman version of the story. It is chiefly in the earlier books that the probability of this is strongest; later in the decade other influences seem to have come prominently forward, among which may be mentioned memoirs current in the Scipionic circle, native traditions or chronicles of Africa, such as those consulted by King Juba, and works of a later and diffuser style like those of Valerius Antias.

From what has been already said it will be seen that some at least of the qualifications of an historian will not be found in any high degree in Livy. He draws his narrative too readily at second hand from earlier writers, and fills in the meagre outlines with rhetorical details, which are often the common-places of the schools, more than the results of independent study. He is too little on his guard against the patriotic bias of the Roman chroniclers, and the party spirit of patrician informants, and so treats unfairly both the statesmanship of Flaminius and the policy of Carthage. There was monumental evidence ready to his hand on every side in the inscriptions to be found in every place of national resort, but there are scanty signs to show that he recognized their value. A few weeks of travel would have given him a personal knowledge of the scenes of the campaigns, which combined with his undoubted powers of description, would have left few questions still unsettled in connection with the battle-fields and movements of the armies. The archives of the Priestly Colleges, whose formularies he sometimes copied, would have told him much about the characteristic features of the old religion, which he leaves almost unexplained, as if it were still unaltered in his own days. His language tends often to confuse the customs of Italy with those of other races. Thus he ascribes to Carthage the distinctive name of the Jupiter of Rome, as well as those of the political and military systems of her rival. The lengthy speeches inserted by him in

the narrative are convenient vehicles for his theories of political causation, but have often little semblance of reality; while the annalistic form, suggested as it was by the yearly change of consuls, fatigues the memory and disturbs the judgment in tracing the natural connection of events. But these defects belong in a great measure to the literary standards of his age and country, and we should not fail to recognize the merits which are peculiarly his own, his high moral tone and honesty of purpose, the eloquence and pathos of his speeches, the vivid powers of portraiture, and the varied beauties of his style, which have given his history so high a place among the works of classical antiquity.

INTRODUCTION. III.

ON THE LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF LIVY[1].

In order to illustrate the peculiarities of Livy's style, a list is now given of those forms of expression which, though for the most part found elsewhere, recur more often in his pages than in those of earlier writers such as Cicero and Cæsar.

Substantive. Concrete for collective, e.g. *eques, pedes, Pœnus;* abstract for concr.: in sing. *levis armatura, remigium;* plur. *servitia, dignitates, robora legionum.* Large number of verbals in *us: trajectus, saltatus, effectus;* and in *tor: concitor, ostentator;* the same used adjectively, *domitor ille exercitus.*

Adjectives used substantively: in sing. acc. or abl. neut.: *in medium, in publico, in immensum altitudinis, in majus vero, in multum diei, per Europæ plerumque, hoc tantum licentiæ;* plur. neut.: *per aversa urbis, per patentia ruinis, per cetera pacata, tædio præsentium;* plur. masc. less frequent: *potiores,*

[1] Compare Nägelsbach, *Lat. Stilistik.* Kühnast, *Liv. Syntax.* Fabri, *Liv.* xxi. xxii.

docti, mortales, cum expeditis militum; forms in *osus* frequent: *procellosus, facinorosus;* and in *bundus: contionabundus, tentabundus;* predicative adj. used adverbially: *repens nuntiatur clades, conferti pugnabant.*

PRONOUN. Alius = ὁ ἄλλος: *alia acies, alius exercitus; alter* for *alteruter* XXI. 8. 7; *nullus* for *nemo; quicunque, qualiscunque, quantuscunque,* &c., without a verb.

ADVERB instead of attributive adj.: *omnibus circa solo æquatis, postero ac deinceps aliquot diebus;* use of *ceterum* for *sed, ferme* for *fere, juxta* for *pariter, adhuc* for past time; *unde, ibi, inde* for persons; *admodum* with numerals; large number of forms in *im,* e.g. *cæsim, generatim.*

VERB. Affection for frequentatives, often in sense of simple verb: frequent recurrence of *vadere, currere, trahere;* form of perf. pass. with *fui* and pluperf. with *fueram; forem* in place of *essem;* use of pres. and perf. subj. in *Or. obliqua,* to give vivid colour to description.

PREPOSITION. Common use of *circa,* not only for space, but for time and mode.

IN CONSTRUCTION. Frequent forms of σχῆμα κατὰ σύνεσιν: *pars magna...nantes, millia...eosdem, R. legiones...ulti, civitas...oriundi, Senatus populusque voluit, Gallia...iis* XXI. 20. 1, *equestre prælium...qua parte copiarum* 41. 4, *scriba pontificis...quos vocant* 57. 3; in pregnant sense: *blandientem ut ducere-*

tur, in orbem pugnantes, in prœlium rediit; irregularities in the use of pronouns: *remisso id quod erepturi erant, id de quo ambigebatur...eventus belli...victoriam dedit, quod quidam auctores sunt, quibus si videretur denuntiarent*; *quicquid* used adverbially = *quo longius*; interrog. within a final sentence: *quid ut a vobis sperent*; or participial: *quid credentes*; *suus* referring to an oblique case of a subordinate sentence.

Genitive. Of possession extensively used: *plebs Hannibalis erat, alterius totus exercitus erat, dicionis facere, H. annorum novem erat.* Of object with relative adj. like *improvidus, nimius, æger*; or without, *ancipitis certaminis victoria, moris sui carmine.*

Ablative. Large use of instrumental, modal and local abl. without prepos., but Livy constantly has prepos. with abl. for motion from a town; frequency of *comparatio compendiaria*, as *spe celerius, solito magis.*

Dative. In predicative sense: *caput Italiæ, auctor rebellionis Sardis, quibusdam volentibus erat bellum.*

Accusative. With adj. or partic. pass.: *cetera tereti, sollicitus omnia, paratus omnia, ictus femur, longam indutæ vestem, assueti devia*; omission of object with verbs used absolutely: *transmittere, movere, superare, jungere, incolere, fallere,* &c.

Adjective. Expressing the object of subst. with which it agrees: *dictatoria invidia, consularia impedimenta*; with infin.: *dignus, obstinatus, dubius.*

Indicative. In hypothetical construction, *fames quam pestilentia gravior erat ni.*

SUBJUNCTIVE. With *ut* after *causa, cum eo, pro eo, ab eo.*

GERUNDIVE. Frequently used in abl. abs. or instrumental abl.: *quærendis pedetentium vadis evasere;* insertion of *ipse, quisque* in abl. gerund. phrases. Cf. note on XXI. 45. 9.

PARTICIPLE. Substantival use of past part. pass.: for an abstract subst., as *Sicilia amissa, ex dictatorio imperio concusso;* for a concrete subst., as *ridentis speciem, strepentium pavores;* as object to the verb, *id male commissum ignavia in bonum vertit;* as subject to the verb, *diu non perlitatum dictatorem tenuit;* absolute use in nom.: *habitantes Lilybæi;* absolute use in abl.: *inexplorato, edicto, auspicato;* hypothetically: *invicta si æquo dimicaretur campo;* future part. to express intention, or assumption: *ita transmissurus si;* omission of participle, *cursus per urbem, pugna ad Trebiam, rudis ad artes;* asyndeton in use of part.: *pulsa plebs armata profecta;* in comparative and superl. forms: *conjunctius, conspectior;* Greek idiom with *fallo: fefellere instructi;* large number of deponent part. in passive sense: *pactus, emensus;* neuter verbs impersonally in part. pass.: *concursum est, tumultuatum.*

PLEONASM. Of frequent occurrence: *legati retro domum unde venerant redierunt, novus rursus de integro labor, ante præoccupare.*

BRACHYLOGY. *Quo ad conveniendum diem edixerat, ad fidem promissorum obsides accipere, neutros pugnam*

incipientes timor tenuit; carried to an awkward extreme in *in eos versa peditum acies...haud dubium fecit quin...* XXI. 34. 37, cf. 52. 1, 55. 8, and XXII. 18. 7.

ELLIPSE. *Tantum ne, modo ne, at enim, retinere conati sunt ni summovissent.*

CHIASMUS is a marked feature of his style: *animus ad pugnam ad fugam spes, in urbem Romani Pœni in castra.*

ANAPHORA. *Hic vobis terminum...fortuna dedit: hic dignam mercedem e. s. dabit;* often combined with *iteratio,* as *totiens petita fœdera totiens rupta.*

PARONOMASIA. *Hospitem non hostem, hostis pro hospite.*

INVERSION in order of familiar expressions: *pro parte virili, belli domique, nocte dieque, inferos superosque.*

ANASTROPHE OF PREPOSITION. *Capuam propius, Fæsulas inter Arretiumque.*

In general we may notice the growing tendency to copy Greek forms of expression, which the want of the article as also of the participle of the substantive verb often render less natural in Latin.

INTRODUCTION. IV.

THE TEXT AND ORTHOGRAPHY OF LIVY[1].

THE oldest MS. of the third decade of Livy is that which is preserved in the National Library at Paris, under the name of the Codex Puteanus (P), dating probably from the beginning of the eighth century. In the earlier edition (1860) of the *Emendationes Livianæ*, Madvig came to the conclusion that this was the source of all the extant MSS., which he believed to differ from it only in the various errors due to the carelessness of later copyists. But the researches of Mommsen and Studemund have thrown light on the influence of another Codex called Spirensis (S), from which a number of readings were noted down long ago by Beatus Rhenanus, but which has since disappeared with the exception of a single leaf discovered a few years back (C. Halm in *Act.*

[1] Compare Madvig, *Emendationes Livianæ;* Mommsen and Studemund, *Analecta Liviana;* Brambach, *Neugestaltung d. Lat. Orthographie;* Corssen, *Aussprache d. Lat. Sprache.*

Monac. 1869). This, or its unknown original, is not entirely represented by any extant MS.; it seems to have come to light at a later time than P, and all of the copies made from it, or derived indirectly from it, show distinct traces of the influence of P, which was referred to probably in obscure or doubtful passages, so that readings from P are found in the margin, or the text even, of the MSS. that can best be traced to S.

Further enquiry may possibly succeed in distinguishing still further the two families of MSS. That of P is admitted to be the earliest and best; it abounds however in obvious errors and omissions, which various editors have gradually corrected. It would be quite hopeless to adhere even to the best MS. authority, and bold as some of the suggestions of Madvig may appear, we must remember that the text has been thrown into its present shape by many critics who have been forced to go to work with equal freedom. We may take one specimen as given by him to prove in his own words '*quantum ubique sordium et robiginis detergendum sit.*' It is the beginning of B. XXII, as it appears in P. *Jam vero adpetebatque Hannibal ex hibernis metuit et neque eo qui iam ante conatus transcendere Appenninum intolerandis frigoribus et cum ingenti periculo moratus ac metu. Gallis, quos prædæ populationumque consciverat spes, postquam pro eo, ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent acgerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse præ-*

miique utriusque partis exercituum hibernis viderent, verterunt retro Hannibalem odia. So faulty a MS. can be little trusted in nice questions of orthography, and Madvig accordingly has not attempted to reproduce the forms of Livy's age, or to give us the spelling of the historian himself, but has fallen back upon the orthography of Quintilian's age, which was fixed by the authority of critics and grammarians, and which is known to have differed in material points from that of Livy's time, when it was still shifting and unsettled. It may be convenient however to formulate some of the chief points of difference between the spelling most in vogue at the end of the Republic, and that of a century later, though with the caution that we cannot tell exactly when the change in each case took place, or how far personal taste may have modified the general fashion.

O. V. *vo* was at first usual, as in *servos, volnus.* The change to *vu* took a century to effect, from Augustus to Vespasian, cf. Quintilian I. 7. § 26.

O. E. The change from *vortex* to *vertex* began with Scipio Africanus, but some forms *advorsus, controvorsia, voster* lasted till the Empire, when there was doubt between *fœnoris, fœneris,* &c.

V. E. We have the later form of the gerundive of the third and fourth conj. as early as B.C. 185, but the older form, as *faciundus,* appears much later, especially in archaic formularies.

V. I. *Maxumus, optumus* were common before

J. Cæsar, who set the fashion of writing *maximus*, &c. Quintil. I. 7. § 21.

E. I. Livy wrote *sibe*, *quase*, and many in the first century did likewise, Quint. I. 7. § 24. So the abl. of words like *agilis*, *Viminalis* was written at the end of the Republic with a final *e*. The elder Pliny proposed to write *agile* of persons, *agili* of things. J. Cæsar decided for the *i*, to distinguish abl. from neut. nom., but it did not definitely prevail till the end of the century.

The form of the acc. plur. gave critics much trouble in the varieties of *eis*, *is*, *es*. It seems to have been settled that *is* was the commoner ending in words whose sing. nom. and gen. ended in *-is*, like *omnis*, *navis*, or of nominatives in *-er* with abl. in *i*, as *acer*, in words in *ns*, *rs*, like *fons*, *pars;* while words in *as*, *x* more frequently assumed a plur. in *es*. The account of the grammarians that the gen. plurals in *ium* were followed by acc. plur. in *is* requires correction in this respect.

In the acc. sing. there was also a wavering between *im* and *em*, and the *i* prevailed only in Greek words, and a very few feminines.

I (pingue). The broad *i* sound was under the Republic commonly written *ei*, which ceased in the Augustan age, though grammarians recognized it much later.

I I. The doubling of *i* between two vowels was preferred by Cicero, as in *aiio*, *Maiia*, and inscriptions

of the early Empire show this spelling; but nouns of the second decl. in *ius*, *ium* were written in the Republic with one *i* only in the *gen.* as *imperi;* adjectives assumed the double *i* earlier, and gradually a like rule spread to the nouns.

K. C. Originally the letter C corresponded to our G sound, as in the C which stands for *Gaius*, till Spurius Carvilius introduced the letter G, and C then took the place of the tenuis K.

CI, TI, were often confused in common speech, inscriptions, and MSS., but in the following words the right reading seems quite established: *condicio*, *contio*, *convitium*, *dicio*, *indutiæ*, *nuntius*, *otium*, *setius*, *solacium*, *suspitio* (Fleckeisen, *Fünfzig Art.*).

QVO. CV. QVV. The old form *quom* became *cum* in the time of J. Cæsar, there being little evidence for *quum* in the first century. So *quoi* passed into *cui* and *quare* into *cur*. *Secundus* is early found for *sequondus*. *Æquom* became *æcum*, then later on *æquum*.

N in old Latin was often omitted before *i* and *s*, as in *cojunx*, *cosol*, *cesor*, *Megalesia;* but in the final *ens* of the numerals it was retained till the end of the Augustan era, though afterwards confined to *totiens*, *quotiens*, and the like.

S S, frequent at the end of the Republic, was changed to *s*; thus Cicero used *caussa*, *divissiones*, but later inscriptions after the Monumentum Ancyranum have a single *s*.

XS was common, not only in compounds like *exspecto*, but in others like *saxsum*, *proxsumus*, and inscriptions prove this in spite of the protests of the old grammarians, who regarded the *s* as needless.

Assimilation of the last letter of the preposition to the first of the verb with which it is compounded began early, but the inscriptions of the end of the Republic have forms like *adclamaro*, *adlectus*, *adrideo*, *conlega*, *inlustris*, varied by more modern forms. The grammarians favoured the general assimilation, and the process went forward steadily, though modified by personal caprice.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

B.C.

229. Death of Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general in Spain; Hasdrubal succeeds to his place.

228. Roman treaty with Hasdrubal.

221. Death of Hasdrubal. Hannibal takes the command in Spain.

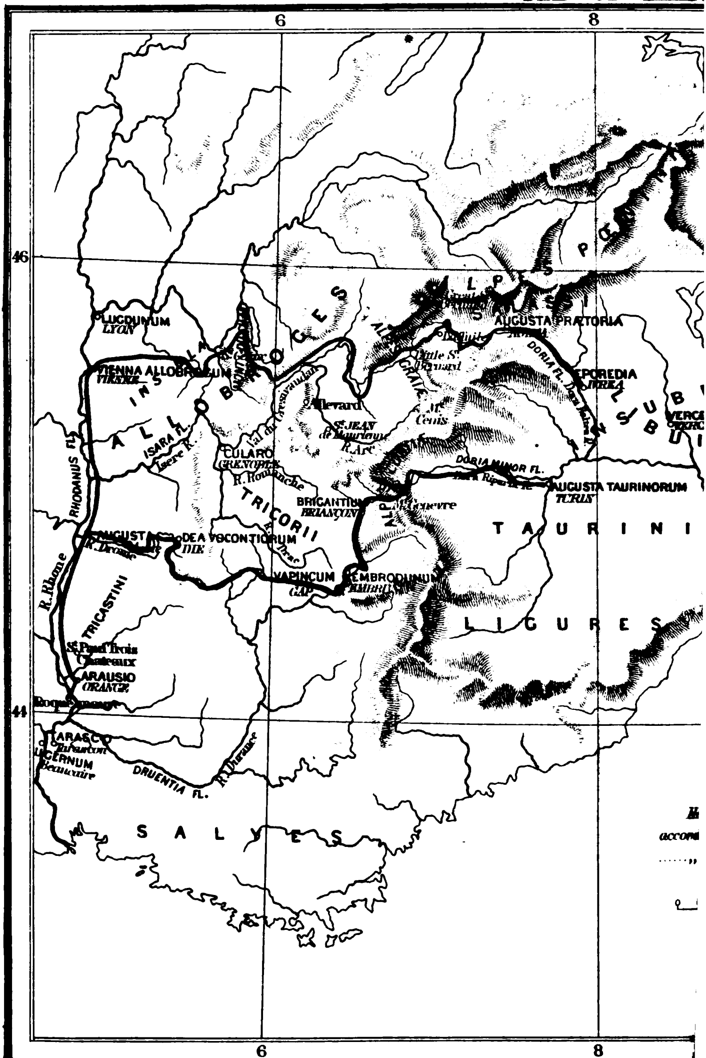
219. Saguntum taken by Hannibal.

218. Hannibal marches through Spain, crosses the Rhone and passes the Alps.
Battles of Ticinus and Trebia.
Successes of Cn. Scipio in Spain.

217. Defeat and death of C. Flaminius at L. Trasimene.
Hannibal marches through Central Italy.
The cautious policy of Q. Fabius Maximus.
Hannibal winters in Apulia.

216. Battle of Cannæ.
Revolt of Italian allies.

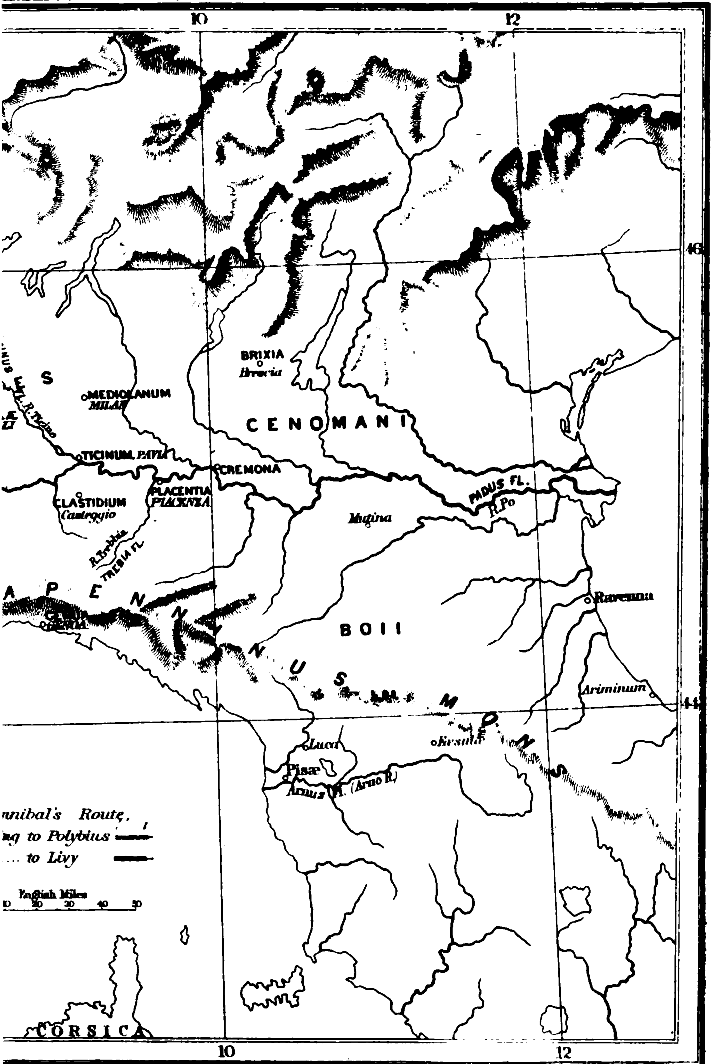
MAP OF HAN



'ary XXI. XXII.

London, M

IBAL'S ROUTE



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LIBER XXI.

The memorable character of the Second Punic war

IN parte operis mei licet mihi præfari, quod in principio summæ totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile, quæ unquam gesta sint, me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere. Nam neque validiores 2
opibus ullæ inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma, neque his ipsis tantum unquam virium aut roboris fuit, et haud ignotas belli artes inter sese, sed expertas primo Punico conserebant bello, et adeo varia fortuna belli ancepsque Mars fuit, ut propius periculum fuerint, qui vicerunt. Odiis etiam prope maiori- 3
bus certarunt quam viribus, Romanis indignantibus, quod victoribus victi ultro inferrent arma, Pœnis, quod superbe avareque crederent imperitatum victis esse. Fama est etiam, Hannibalem annorum ferme 4
novem, pueriliter blandientem patri Hamilcari, ut duceretur in Hispaniam, quum, perfecto Africo bello, exercitum eo traiecturus sacrificaret, altaribus admotum, tactis sacris, iure iurando adactum, se, quum primum posset, hostem fore populo Romano. Ange- 5

bant ingentis spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissæ:
nam et Siciliam nimis celeri desperatione rerum con-
cessam et Sardiniam inter motum Africæ fraude Ro-
manorum, stipendio etiam insuper imposito, intercep-
2 tam. His anxius curis ita se Africo bello, quod fuit
sub recentem Romanam pacem, per quinque annos,
ita deinde novem annis in Hispania augendo Punico
imperio gessit, ut appareret, maius eum,
quam quod gereret, agitare in animo bel-
lum, et, si diutius vixisset, Hamilcare duce
Pœnos arma Italiæ illaturos fuisse, quæ Hannibalis
ductu intulerunt.

2 *which was postponed for a while by the death of Hamilcar.*

3 Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et pueritia Hanni-
balis distulerunt bellum. Medius Hasdrubal inter
patrem ac filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit,
4 flore ætatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus,
gener inde ob aliam indolem profecto animi adscitus
et, quia gener erat, factionis Barcinæ opibus, quæ apud
milites plebemque plus quam modicæ erant, haud sane
5 voluntate principum, in imperio positus. Is plura con-
silio quam vi gerens, hospitiis magis regulorum con-
ciliandisque per amicitiam principum no-
vis gentibus quam bello aut armis rem
6 Carthaginiensem auxit. Ceterum nihilo ei
pax tutior fuit; barbarus eum quidam palam ob iram in-
terfecti ab eo domini obtruncat; comprensusque ab cir-
cumstantibus haud alio, quam si evasisset, vultu, tor-
mentis quoque quum laceraretur, eo fuit habitu oris,
ut superante lætitia dolores ridentis etiam speciem
7 præbuerit. Cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia miræ artis in
sollicitandis gentibus imperioque suo iungendis fuerat,
fœdus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque

Hasdrubal, his successor in command, extended the influence of Carthage in Spain

imperii esset amnis Hiberus, Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur.

In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit, quin 3
prærogativa militaris, qua extemplo iuvenis Hannibal in prætorium delatus imperatorque ingenti omnium clamore atque assensu appellatus erat, * * favor plebis sequebatur. Hunc vixdum puberem Has- 2
drubal litteris ad se accersierat, actaque res etiam in senatu fuerat. Barcinis nitentibus, ut assuesceret militiæ Hannibal atque in paternas succederet opes, Hanno, alterius factionis prin- 3
ceps, "Et æquum postulare videtur" inquit "Hasdrubal, et ego tamen non censeo, quod petit, tribuendum." Quum admiratione tam ancipitis sententiæ in se omnes 4
convertisset, "Florem ætatis" inquit "Hasdrubal, quem ipse patri Hannibalis fruendum præbuit, iusto iure eum a filio repeti censet; nos tamen minime decet iuventutem nostram pro militari rudimento assuefacere libidini prætorum. An hoc timemus, ne Ha- 5
milcaris filius nimis sero imperia immodica et regni paterni speciem videat, et, cuius regis genero hereditarii sint relicti exercitus nostri, eius filio parum mature serviamus? Ego istum iuvenem domi tenendum 6
sub legibus, sub magistratibus, docendum vivere æquo iure cum ceteris censeo, ne quandoque parvus hic ignis incendium ingens exsuscitet." Pauci, ac ferme opti- 4
mus quisque, Hannoni assentiebantur; sed, ut plerumque fit, maior pars meliorem vicit.

and was succeeded by the youthful Hannibal who had served under him.

Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim adventu omnem exercitum in se convertit; Hamilcarem iuvenem redditum sibi ve- 2
teres milites credere; eundem vigorem in vultu vimque

Hannibal's popularity and character.

in oculis, habitum oris lineamentaque intueri. Dein brevi effecit, ut pater in se minimum momentum ad
3 favorem conciliandum esset. Nunquam ingenium idem ad res diversissimas, parendum atque imperandum, habilius fuit. Itaque haud facile discerneres, utrum
4 imperatori an exercitui carior esset; neque Hasdrubal alium quemquam præficere malle, ubi quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset, neque milites alio duce plus
5 confidere aut audere. Plurimum audaciæ ad pericula capessenda, plurimum consilii inter ipsa pericula erat. Nullo labore aut corpus fatigari aut animus vinci po-
6 terat. Caloris ac frigoris patientia par; cibi potionisque desiderio naturali, non voluptate modus finitus; vigiliarum somnique nec die nec nocte discriminata
7 tempora; id, quod gerendis rebus superesset, quieti datum; ea neque molli strato neque silentio accersita; multi sæpe militari sagulo opertum humi iacentem inter custodias stationesque militum conspexerunt.
8 Vestitus nihil inter æquales excellens; arma atque equi conspiciebantur. Equitum peditumque idem longe primus erat; princeps in prœlium ibat, ultimus con-
9 serto prœlio excedebat. Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia æquabant, inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum
10 metus, nullum ius iurandum, nulla religio. Cum hac indole virtutum atque vitiorum triennio sub Hasdrubale imperatore meruit, nulla re, quæ agenda videndaque magno futuro duci esset, prætermissa.

5 Ceterum, ex quo die dux est declaratus, velut Italia ei provincia decreta bellumque Romanum
2 mandatum esset, nihil prolatandum ratus, ne se quoque, ut patrem Hamilcarem,

With a view to war with Rome he reduces the Olcades

deinde Hasdrubalem, cunctantem casus aliquis opprimeret, Saguntinis inferre bellum statuit. Quibus op- 3
pugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma movebantur, in Olcadum prius fines (ultra Hiberum ea gens in parte magis quam in dicione Carthaginiensium erat) induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos, sed rerum serie, finitimis domitis gentibus, iungendoque tractus ad id bellum videri posset. Cartalam, urbem 4
opulentam, caput gentis eius, expugnat diripitque; quo metu perculsæ minores civitates stipendio imposito imperium accepere. Victor exercitus opulentusque præda Carthaginem Novam in hiberna est deductus. Ibi large partiendo prædam stipendioque præterito 5
cum fide exsolvendo cunctis civium sociorumque animis in se firmatis, vere primo in Vaccæos promotum bellum. Hermandica et Arbocala, eorum urbes, vi 6
captæ; Arbocala et virtute et multitudine oppidanorum diu defensa.

and the Vaccæi

Ab Hermandica profugi ex- 7
sulibus Olcadum, priore æstate domitæ gentis, quum se iunxissent, concitant Carpetanos, adortique Han- 8
nibalem regressum ex Vaccæis haud procul Tago flumine, agmen grave præda turbavere. Hannibal prœlio abstinuit, castrisque super ripam positis, quum prima quies silentiumque ab hostibus fuit, amnem vado traiecit, valloque ita producto, ut locum ad transgrediendum hostes haberent, invadere eos transeuntes statuit. Equitibus præcepit, ut, quum ingressos aquam vide- 10
rent, adorirentur impeditum agmen; in ripa elephantos (quadraginta autem erant) disponit. Carpetanorum 11
cum appendicibus Olcadum Vaccæorumque centum millia fuere, invicta acies, si æquo dimicaretur campo.

and crushes the resistance of the Carpetani.

Itaque et ingenio feroces et 12

multitudine freti et, quod metu cessisse credebant hos-
tem, id morari victoriam rati, quod interesset amnis,
clamore sublato passim sine ullius imperio, qua cuique
13 proximum est, in amnem ruunt. Et ex parte altera
ripæ vis ingens equitum in flumen immissa, medio-
que alveo haudquaquam pari certamine concursum,
14 quippe ubi pedes instabilis ac vix vado fidens vel ab
inermi equite, equo temere acto, perverti posset, eques
corpore armisque liber, equo vel per medios gurgites
15 stabili, cominus eminusque rem gereret. Pars magna
flumine absumpta; quidam verticoso amni delati in
16 hostes ab elephantis obtriti sunt. Postremi, quibus
regressus in suam ripam tutior fuit, ex varia trepi-
datione quum in unum colligerentur, priusquam *a* tanto
pavore reciperent animos, Hannibal agmine quadrato
amnem ingressus fugam ex ripa fecit, vastatisque agris,
intra paucos dies Carpetanos quoque in deditionem ac-
17 cepit; et iam omnia trans Hiberum præter Saguntinos
Carthaginiensium erant. To Here

6 Cum Saguntinis bellum nondum erat, ceterum iam
belli causa. Certamina cum finitimis sere-
bantur, maxime Turdetanis. Quibus quum
adesset idem, qui litis erat sator, nec cer-
tamen iuris, sed vim quæri appareret, legati a Sagun-
tinis Romam missi auxilium ad bellum iam haud
3 dubie imminens orantes. Consules tunc Romæ erant
P. Cornelius Scipio et Ti. Sempronius Longus. Qui
quum, legatis in senatum introductis, de re publica
rettulissent, placuissetque mitti legatos in Hispaniam
4 ad res sociorum inspiciendas, quibus si videretur digna
causa, et Hannibali denuntiarent, ut ab Saguntinis,
sociis populi Romani, abstineret, et Carthaginem in

2 Saguntum fearing attack from him sends envoys to Rome

Africam traiicerent ac sociorum populi Romani queri-
monias deferrent, hac legatione decreta 5
necdum missa, omnium spe celerius Sa-
guntum oppugnari allatum est. Tunc re- 6

but before ambassadors can be sent to warn Hannibal to respect the allies of Rome

lata de integro res ad senatum; et alii provincias con-
sulibus Hispaniam atque Africam decernentes terra
marique rem gerendam censebant, alii totum in His-
paniam Hannibalemque intendebant bellum; erant, 7
qui non temere movendam rem tantam exspectandos-
que ex Hispania legatos censerent. Hæc sententia, 8
quæ tutissima videbatur, vicit, legatique eo maturius
missi, P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Bæbius Tamphilus,
Saguntum ad Hannibalem atque inde Carthaginem, si
non absisteretur bello, ad ducem ipsum in pœnam
fœderis rupti deposcendum.

Dum ea Romani parant consultantque, iam Sagun- 7
tum summa vi oppugnabatur. Civitas ea 2
longe opulentissima ultra Hiberum fuit,

the siege of Saguntum is begun

sita passus mille ferme a mari. Oriundi a Zacyntho
insula dicuntur, mixtique etiam ab Ardea Rutulorum
quidam generis; ceterum in tantas brevi creverant 3
opes seu maritimis seu terrestribus fructibus seu mul-
titudinis incremento seu disciplinæ sanctitate, qua
fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coluerunt.
Hannibal infesto exercitu ingressus fines, pervastatis 4
passim agris, urbem tripertito aggreditur. Angulus 5
muri erat in planiorem patentioremque, quam cetera
circa, vallem vergens; adversus eum vineas agere in-
stituit, per quas aries mœnibus admoveri posset. Sed 6
ut locus procul muro satis æquus agendis vineis fuit,
ita haudquaquam prospere, postquam ad effectum
operis ventum est, cœptis succedebat. Et turris in- 7

gens imminebat, et murus, ut in suspecto loco, supra
ceteræ modum altitudinis emunitus erat, et iuventus
delecta, ubi plurimum periculi ac timoris ostendebatur,
8 ibi vi maiore obsistebant. Ac primo missilibus sum-
movere hostem nec quicquam satis tutum munientibus
pati; deinde iam non pro mœnibus modo atque turri
tela micare, sed ad erumpendum etiam in stationes
9 operaque hostium animus erat; quibus tumultuariis
certaminibus haud ferme plures Saguntini cadebant
10 quam Pœni. Ut vero Hannibal ipse, dum murum
incautius subit, adversum femur tragula graviter ictus
cecidit, tanta circa fuga ac trepidatio fuit, ut non
multum abesset, quin opera ac vineæ desererentur.
8 Obsidio deinde per paucos dies magis quam oppugnatio
fuit, dum vulnus ducis curaretur; per quod tempus ut
quies certaminum erat, ita ab apparatu operum ac
2 munitionum nihil cessatum. Itaque acrius de integro
coortum est bellum, pluribusque partibus,
vix accipientibus quibusdam opera locis,

and pushed forward vigorously.

3 vineæ cœptæ agi admoverique aries. Abundabat mul-
titudine hominum Pœnus; (ad centum quinquaginta
4 millia habuisse in armis satis creditur;) oppidani ad
omnia tuenda atque obeunda multifariam distineri
5 cœpti sunt; non sufficiebant itaque. Iam feriebantur
arietibus muri quassatæque multæ partes erant; una
continentibus ruinis nudaverat urbem; tres deinceps
turres, quantumque inter eas muri erat, cum fragore
6 ingenti prociderunt. Captum oppidum ea ruina cre-
diderant Pœni, qua, velut si pariter utrosque murus
7 texisset, ita utrinque in pugnam procursum est. Nihil
tumultuariæ pugnæ simile erat, quales in oppugna-
tionibus urbium per occasionem partis alterius con-

seri solent, sed iustæ acies, velut patenti campo, inter
ruinas muri tectaque urbis modico distantia intervallo
constiterant. Hinc spes, hinc desperatio animos irritat, 8
Pœno cepisse iam se urbem, si paulum annitatur, cre-
dente, Saguntinis pro nudata mœnibus patria corpora
opponentibus nec ullo pedem referente, ne in relictum
a se locum hostem immitteret. Itaque quo acrius et 9
conferti magis utrinque pugnabant, eo plures vulner-
abantur, nullo inter arma corporaque vano interci-
dente telo. Phalarica erat Saguntinis missile telum 10
hastili abiegno et cetera tereti præterquam ad extre-
mum, unde ferrum exstabat; id, sicut in pilo, quad-
ratum stuppa circumligabant linebantque pice; ferrum 11
autem tres longum habebat pedes, ut cum armis trans-
figere corpus posset. Sed id maxime, etiamsi hæsisset
in scuto nec penetrasset in corpus, pavorem faciebat,
quod, quum medium accensum mitteretur conceptum- 12
que ipso motu multo maiorem ignem ferret, arma
omitti cogebat nudumque militem ad insequentes ictus
præbebat. Quum diu anceps fuisset certamen, et Sa- 9
guntinis, quia præter spem resisterent, crevissent animi,
Pœnus, quia non vicisset, pro victo esset, clamorem 2
repente oppidani tollunt hostemque in ruinas muri ex-
pellunt, inde impeditum trepidantemque exturbant,
postremo fusum fugatumque in castra redigunt.

Interim ab Roma legatos venisse nuntiatum est; 3
quibus obviam ad mare missi ab Hanni-
bale, qui dicerent, nec tuto eos aditures
inter tot tam effrenatarum gentium arma,
nec Hannibali in tanto discrimine rerum operæ esse
legationes audire. Apparebat, non admissos protinus 4
Carthaginem ituros. Litteras igitur nuntiosque ad

The Roman ambassadors with whom Hannibal refused to treat

bant ingentis spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissæ: nam et Siciliam nimis celeri desperatione rerum concessam et Sardiniam inter motum Africæ fraude Romanorum, stipendio etiam insuper imposito, intercep-
2 tam. His anxius curis ita se Africo bello, quod fuit sub recentem Romanam pacem, per quinque annos, ita deinde novem annis in Hispania augendo Punico imperio gessit, ut appareret, maius eum, quam quod gereret, agitare in animo bellum, et, si diutius vixisset, Hamilcare duce Pœnos arma Italiæ illaturos fuisse, quæ Hannibalis ductu intulerunt.

2 which was postponed for a while by the death of Hamilcar.

3 Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et pueritia Hannibalis distulerunt bellum. Medius Hasdrubal inter patrem ac filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit,
4 flore ætatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus, gener inde ob aliam indolem profecto animi adscitus et, quia gener erat, factionis Barcinæ opibus, quæ apud milites plebemque plus quam modicæ erant, haud sane
5 voluntate principum, in imperio positus. Is plura consilio quam vi gerens, hospitiis magis regulorum conciliandisque per amicitiam principum novis gentibus quam bello aut armis rem
6 Carthaginiensem auxit. Ceterum nihilo ei pax tutior fuit; barbarus eum quidam palam ob iram interfecti ab eo domini obtruncat; comprensusque ab circumstantibus haud alio, quam si evasisset, vultu, tormentis quoque quum laceraretur, eo fuit habitu oris, ut superante lætitia dolores ridentis etiam speciem
7 præbuerit. Cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia miræ artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperioque suo iungendis fuerat, fœdus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque

Hasdrubal, his successor in command, extended the influence of Carthage in Spain

imperii esset amnis Hiberus, Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur.

In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit, quin 3
prærogativa militaris, qua extemplo iuvenis Hannibal in prætorium delatus imperatorque ingenti omnium clamore atque assensu appellatus erat, * * favor plebis sequebatur. 2
Hunc vixdum puberem Hasdrubal litteris ad se accersierat, actaque res etiam in senatu fuerat. Barcinis nitentibus, ut assuesceret militiæ Hannibal atque in paternas succederet opes, Hanno, alterius factionis prin- 3
ceps, "Et æquum postulare videtur" inquit "Hasdrubal, et ego tamen non censeo, quod petit, tribuendum."
Quum admiratione tam ancipitis sententiæ in se omnes 4
convertisset, "Florem ætatis" inquit "Hasdrubal, quem ipse patri Hannibalis fruendum præbuit, iusto iure eum a filio repeti censet; nos tamen minime decet iuventutem nostram pro militari rudimento assuefacere libidini prætorum. An hoc timemus, ne Ha- 5
milcaris filius nimis sero imperia immodica et regni paterni speciem videat, et, cuius regis genero hereditarii sint relicti exercitus nostri, eius filio parum mature serviamus? Ego istum iuvenem domi tenendum 6
sub legibus, sub magistratibus, docendum vivere æquo iure cum ceteris censeo, ne quandoque parvus hic ignis incendium ingens exsuscitet." Pauci, ac ferme opti- 4
mus quisque, Hannoni assentiebantur; sed, ut plerumque fit, maior pars meliorem vicit.

and was succeeded by the youthful Hannibal who had served under him.

Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim adventu omnem exercitum in se convertit; Hamilcarem iuvenem redditum sibi ve- 2
teres milites credere; eundem vigorem in vultu vimque

Hannibal's popularity and character.

in oculis, habitum oris lineamentaque intueri. Dein brevi effecit, ut pater in se minimum momentum ad
3 favorem conciliandum esset. Nunquam ingenium idem ad res diversissimas, parendum atque imperandum, habilius fuit. Itaque haud facile discerneres, utrum
4 imperatori an exercitui carior esset; neque Hasdrubal alium quemquam præficere malle, ubi quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset, neque milites alio duce plus
5 confidere aut audere. Plurimum audaciæ ad pericula capessenda, plurimum consilii inter ipsa pericula erat. Nullo labore aut corpus fatigari aut animus vinci po-
6 terat. Caloris ac frigoris patientia par; cibi potionisque desiderio naturali, non voluptate modus finitus; vigiliarum somnique nec die nec nocte discriminata
7 tempora; id, quod gerendis rebus superesset, quieti datum; ea neque molli strato neque silentio accersita; multi sæpe militari sagulo opertum humi iacentem inter custodias stationesque militum conspexerunt.
8 Vestitus nihil inter æquales excellens; arma atque equi conspiciebantur. Equitum peditumque idem longe primus erat; princeps in prœlium ibat, ultimus con-
9 serto prœlio excedebat. Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia æquabant, inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum
10 metus, nullum ius iurandum, nulla religio. Cum hac indole virtutum atque vitiorum triennio sub Hasdrubale imperatore meruit, nulla re, quæ agenda videndaque magno futuro duci esset, prætermissa.

5 Ceterum, ex quo die dux est declaratus, velut Italia ei provincia decreta bellumque Romanum
2 mandatum esset, nihil prolatandum ratus, ne se quoque, ut patrem Hamilcarem,

With a view to war with Rome he reduces the Olcades

deinde Hasdrubalem, cunctantem casus aliquis oppri-
meret, Saguntinis inferre bellum statuit. Quibus op- 3
pugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma movebantur,
in Olcadum prius fines (ultra Hiberum ea gens in
parte magis quam in dicione Carthaginiensium erat)
induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos, sed
rerum serie, finitimis domitis gentibus, iungendoque
tractus ad id bellum videri posset. Cartalam, urbem 4
opulentam, caput gentis eius, expugnat diripitque; quo
metu perculsæ minores civitates stipendio imposito
imperium accepere. Victor exercitus opulentusque
præda Carthaginem Novam in hiberna est deductus.
Ibi large partiendo prædam stipendioque præterito 5
cum fide exsolvendo cunctis civium sociorumque animis
in se firmatis, vere primo in Vaccæos promotum bellum.
Hermandica et Arbocala, eorum urbes, vi 6
captæ; Arbocala et virtute et multitudine
oppidanorum diu defensa. Ab Hermandica profugi ex- 7
sulibus Olcadum, priore æstate domitæ gentis, quum
se iunxissent, concitant Carpetanos, adortique Han- 8
nibalem regressum ex Vaccæis haud procul Tago flu-
mine, agmen grave præda turbavere. Hannibal prœlio
abstinuit, castrisque super ripam positis, quum prima
quies silentiumque ab hostibus fuit, amnem vado tra-
iecit, valloque ita producto, ut locum ad transgredien-
dum hostes haberent, invadere eos transeuntes statuit.
Equitibus præcepit, ut, quum ingressos aquam vide- 10
rent, adorirentur impeditum agmen; in ripa elephantos
(quadraginta autem erant) disponit. Carpetanorum 11
cum appendicibus Olcadum Vaccæorum-
que centum millia fuere, invicta acies, si
æquo dimicaretur campo. Itaque et ingenio feroces et 12

and the Vaccæi

and crushes the resistance of the Carpetani.

multitudine freti et, quod metu cessisse credebant hos-
tem, id morari victoriam rati, quod interesset amnis,
clamore sublato passim sine ullius imperio, qua cuique
13 proximum est, in amnem ruunt. Et ex parte altera
ripæ vis ingens equitum in flumen immissa, medio-
que alveo haudquaquam pari certamine concursum,
14 quippe ubi pedes instabilis ac vix vado fidens vel ab
inermi equite, equo temere acto, perverti posset, eques
corpore armisque liber, equo vel per medios gurgites
15 stabili, cominus eminusque rem gereret. Pars magna
flumine absumpta; quidam verticoso amni delati in
16 hostes ab elephantis obtriti sunt. Postremi, quibus
regressus in suam ripam tutior fuit, ex varia trepi-
datione quum in unum colligerentur, priusquam *a* tanto
pavore reciperent animos, Hannibal agmine quadrato
amnem ingressus fugam ex ripa fecit, vastatisque agris,
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belli causa. Certamina cum finitimis sere-
2 bantur, maxime Turdetanis. Quibus quum
adesset idem, qui litis erat sator, nec cer-
tamen iuris, sed vim quæri appareret, legati a Sagun-
tinis Romam missi auxilium ad bellum iam haud
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quum, legatis in senatum introductis, de re publica
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paniam Hannibalemque intendebant bellum; erant, 7
qui non temere movendam rem tantam exspectandos-
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Dum ea Romani parant consultantque, iam Sagun- 7
tum summa vi oppugnabatur. Civitas ea 2
longe opulentissima ultra Hiberum fuit,
sita passus mille ferme a mari. Oriundi a Zacyntho
insula dicuntur, mixtique etiam ab Ardea Rutulorum
quidam generis; ceterum in tantas brevi creverant 3
opes seu maritimis seu terrestribus fructibus seu mul-
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Hannibal infesto exercitu ingressus fines, pervastatis 4
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ut locus procul muro satis æquus agendis vineis fuit,
ita haudquaquam prospere, postquam ad effectum
operis ventum est, cœptis succedebat. Et turris in- 7

the siege of Saguntum is begun

gens imminebat, et murus, ut in suspecto loco, supra ceteræ modum altitudinis emunitus erat, et iuventus delecta, ubi plurimum periculi ac timoris ostendebatur,
8 ibi vi maiore obsistebant. Ac primo missilibus summovere hostem nec quicquam satis tutum munientibus pati; deinde iam non pro mœnibus modo atque turri tela micare, sed ad erumpendum etiam in stationes
9 operaque hostium animus erat; quibus tumultuariis certaminibus haud ferme plures Saguntini cadebant
10 quam Pœni. Ut vero Hannibal ipse, dum murum incautius subit, adversum femur tragula graviter ictus cecidit, tanta circa fuga ac trepidatio fuit, ut non multum abesset, quin opera ac vineæ desererentur.
8 Obsidio deinde per paucos dies magis quam oppugnatio fuit, dum vulnus ducis curaretur; per quod tempus ut quies certaminum erat, ita ab apparatu operum ac
2 munitionum nihil cessatum. Itaque acrius de integro coortum est bellum, pluribusque partibus, vix accipientibus quibusdam opera locis,
3 vineæ cœptæ agi admoverique aries. Abundabat multitudine hominum Pœnus; (ad centum quinquaginta
4 millia habuisse in armis satis creditur;) oppidani ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda multifariam distineri
5 cœpti sunt; non sufficiebant itaque. Iam feriebantur arietibus muri quassatæque multæ partes erant; una continentibus ruinis nudaverat urbem; tres deinceps turres, quantumque inter eas muri erat, cum fragore
6 ingenti prociderunt. Captum oppidum ea ruina crediderant Pœni, qua, velut si pariter utrosque murus
7 texisset, ita utrinque in pugnam procursum est. Nihil tumultuariæ pugnæ simile erat, quales in oppugnationibus urbium per occasionem partis alterius con-

and pushed forward vigorously.

seri solent, sed iustæ acies, velut patenti campo, inter
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hastili abiegno et cetera tereti præterquam ad extre-
mum, unde ferrum exstabat; id, sicut in pilo, quad-
ratum stuppa circumligabant linebantque pice; ferrum 11
autem tres longum habebat pedes, ut cum armis trans-
figere corpus posset. Sed id maxime, etiamsi hæsisset
in scuto nec penetrasset in corpus, pavorem faciebat,
quod, quum medium accensum mitteretur conceptum- 12
que ipso motu multo maiorem ignem ferret, arma
omitti cogebat nudumque militem ad insequentes ictus
præbebat. Quum diu anceps fuisset certamen, et Sa- 9
guntinis, quia præter spem resisterent, crevissent animi,
Pœnus, quia non vicisset, pro victo esset, clamorem 2
repente oppidani tollunt hostemque in ruinas muri ex-
pellunt, inde impeditum trepidantemque exturbant,
postremo fusum fugatumque in castra redigunt.

The Roman ambassadors with whom Hannibal refused to treat

Interim ab Roma legatos venisse nuntiatum est; 3
quibus obviam ad mare missi ab Hanni-
bale, qui dicerent, nec tuto eos adituros
inter tot tam effrenatarum gentium arma,
nec Hannibali in tanto discrimine rerum operæ esse
legationes audire. Apparebat, non admissos protinus 4
Carthaginem ituros. Litteras igitur nuntiosque ad

principes factionis Barcinæ præmittit, ut præpararent
suorum animos, ne quid pars altera gratificari populo
Romano posset. Itaque, præterquam quod admissi
auditique sunt, ea quoque vana atque ir-
2 rita legatio fuit. Hanno unus adversus
senatum causam fœderis magno silentio
propter auctoritatem suam, *non* cum assensu audien-
3 tium egit, per deos fœderum arbitros ac testes sena-
tum obtestans, ne Romanum cum Saguntino susci-
tarent bellum; monuisse, prædixisse se, ne Hamilcaris
progeniem ad exercitum mitterent; non manes, non
stirpem eius conquiescere viri, nec unquam, donec
sanguinis nominisque Barcini quisquam supersit, quie-
4 tura Romana fœdera. "Iuvenem flagrantem cupidine
regni viamque unam ad id cernentem, si ex bellis
bella serendo succinctus armis legionibusque vivat, velut
materiam igni præbentes, ad exercitus misistis. Alu-
5 istis ergo hoc incendium, quo nunc ardetis. Saguntum
vestri circumsedent exercitus, unde arcentur fœdere;
mox Carthaginem circumsedebunt Romanæ legiones,
ducibus iisdem diis, per quos priore bello rupta fœdera
6 sunt ulti. Utrum hostem an vos an fortunam utrius-
que populi ignoratis? Legatos ab sociis et pro sociis
venientes bonus imperator vester in castra non ad-
misit; ius gentium sustulit; hi tamen, unde ne hos-
tium quidem legati arcentur, pulsi, ad nos venerunt;
res ex fœdere repetunt; ut publica fraus absit, auc-
7 torem culpæ et reum criminis deposcunt. Quo lenius
agunt, segnius incipiunt, eo, quum cœperint, vereor,
ne perseverantius sæviant. Ægates insulas Erycem-
que ante oculos proponite, quæ terra marique per
8 quattuor et viginti annos passi sitis. Nec puer hic

went on to Carthage, but in spite of the strong protest of Hanno,

dux erat, sed pater ipse Hamilcar, Mars alter, ut isti volunt. Sed Tarento, id est Italia, non abstinueramus ex fœdere, sicut nunc Sagunto non abstinemus;
vicerunt ergo dii homines et, id de quo verbis ambi- 9
gebatur, uter populus fœdus rupisset, eventus belli velut æquus iudex, unde ius stabat, ei victoriam dedit.
Carthagini nunc Hannibal vineas turresque admovet; 10
Carthaginis mœnia quatit ariete. Saguntí ruinæ (falsus utinam vates sim) nostris capitibus incident, susceptumque cum Saguntinis bellum habendum cum
Romanis est. Dedemus ergo Hannibalem? dicet ali- 11
quis. Scio meam levem esse in eo auctoritatem propter paternas inimicitias; sed et Hamilcarem eo perisse lætatus sum, quod, si ille viveret, bellum iam haberemus cum Romanis, et hunc iuvenem tanquam furiam
facemque huius belli odi ac detestor; nec dedendum 12
solum ad piaculum rupti fœderis, sed, si nemo deposcat, devehendum in ultimas maris terrarumque oras, ablegandum eo, unde nec ad nos nomen famaque eius accidere neque ille sollicitare quietæ civitatis statum
possit. Ego ita censeo, legatos extemplo Romam 13
mittendos, qui senatui satisfaciant; alios, qui Hannibali nuntient, ut exercitum ab Sagunto abducat, ipsumque Hannibalem ex fœdere Romanis dedant; tertiam legationem ad res Saguntinis reddendas de-
cerno." Quum Hanno perorasset, nemini omnium 11
certare oratione cum eo necesse fuit; adeo prope omnis senatus Hannibalis erat, infestiusque locutum arguebant Hannonem quam Flac-
cum Valerium, legatum Romanum. Re- 2
sponsum inde legatis Romanis est, bellum ortum ab Saguntinis, non ab Hannibale esse; populum Ro-

the senate of Carthage refused to stay the action of their general.

manum iniuste facere, si Saguntinos vetustissimæ
Carthaginiensium societati præponat.

3 Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibus mitten-
dis, Hannibal, quia fessum militem prœliis
The siege goes on
operibusque habebat, paucorum iis die-
rum quietem dedit, stationibus ad custodiam vinearum
aliorumque operum dispositis. Interim animos eo-
rum nunc ira in hostes stimulando, nunc spe præmio-
4 rum accendit; ut vero pro contione prædam captæ
urbis edixit militum fore, adeo accensi omnes sunt,
ut, si extemplo signum datum esset, nulla vi resisti
5 videretur posse. Saguntini ut a prœliis quietem ha-
buerant nec lacessentes nec lacessiti per aliquot dies,
ita non nocte, non die unquam cessaverant ab opere,
ut novum murum ab ea parte, qua patefactum op-
6 pidum ruinis erat, reficerent. Inde oppugnatio eos
aliquanto atrocior quam ante adorta est, nec, qua
primum aut potissimum parte ferrent opem, quum
omnia variis clamoribus streperent, satis scire pote-
7 rant. Ipse Hannibal, qua turris mobilis, omnia mu-
nimenta urbis superans altitudine, agebatur, hortator
aderat. Quæ quum admota, catapultis ballistisque
8 per omnia tabulata dispositis, muros defensoribus
nudasset, tum Hannibal occasionem ratus, quingentos
ferme Afros cum dolabris ad subruendum ab imo
murum mittit; nec erat difficile opus, quod cæmenta
non calce durata erant, sed interlita luto, structuræ
9 antiquæ genere. Itaque latius, quam qua cæderetur,
ruebat, perque patentia ruinis agmina armatorum in
10 urbem vadebant. Locum quoque editum capiunt,
collatisque eo catapultis ballistisque, ut castellum in
ipsa urbe velut arcem imminentem haberent, muro

circumdant; et Saguntini murum interiorem ab nondum capta parte urbis ducunt. Utrinque summa vi 11
et muniunt et pugnant; sed interiora tuendo minorem in dies urbem Saguntini faciunt. Simul crescit 12
inopia omnium longa obsidione et minuitur exspectatio externæ opis, quum tam procul Romani, unica spes, circa omnia hostium essent. Paulisper tamen 13
affectos animos recreavit repentina profectio Hannibalis in Oretanos Carpetanosque, qui duo populi, dilectus acerbitate consternati, retentis conquisitoribus, metum defectionis quum præbuissent, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis omiserunt mota arma. Nec Sagunti oppugnatio segnior 12
erat, Maharbale Himilconis filio (eum præfecerat Hannibal) ita impigre rem agente, ut ducem abesse nec cives nec hostes sentirent. Is et prœlia aliquot se- 2
cunda fecit et tribus arietibus aliquantum muri discussit, strataque omnia recentibus ruinis advenienti Hannibali ostendit. Itaque ad ipsam arcem extemplo 3
ductus exercitus, atroxque prœlium cum multorum utrinque cæde initum et pars arcis capta est.

though Hannibal is called away by movements among the Spanish tribes.

Tentata deinde per duos est exigua pacis spes, 4
Alconem Saguntinum et Alorcum Hispanum. Alco insciis Saguntinis, precibus, aliquid moturum ratus, quum ad Hannibalem noctu transisset, postquam nihil lacrimæ movebant condicionesque tristes ut ab irato victore ferebantur, transfuga ex oratore factus apud hostem mansit, moriturum affirmans, qui sub condicionibus iis de pace ageret. Postulabatur autem, 5
redderent res Turdetanis, traditoque omni auro atque argento egressi urbe cum singulis vestimentis ibi habi-

Alco privately treats for peace,

but is afraid to report the terms of Hannibal;

6 tarent, ubi Pœnus iussisset. Has pacis leges abnuente
Alcone accepturos Saguntinos, Alorcus, vinci animos,
ubi alia vincantur, affirmans, se pacis eius interpretem
fore pollicetur; erat autem tum miles Hannibalis,
7 ceterum publice Saguntinis amicus atque hospes. Tra-
dito palam telo custodibus hostium, transgressus mu-
nimenta ad prætorem Saguntinum (et ipse ita iubebat)
8 est deductus. Quo quum extemplo concursus omnis
generis hominum esset factus, summota cetera multi-
tudine, senatus Alorco datus est, cuius talis oratio
13 fuit. "Si civis vester Alco, sicut ad pacem peten-
dam ad Hannibalem venit, ita pacis condiciones ab
Hannibale ad vos rettulisset, supervaca-
neum hoc mihi fuisset iter, quo nec

but Alorcus urges submission.

2 orator Hannibalis nec transfuga ad vos veni; sed
quum ille aut vestra aut sua culpa manserit apud
hostem (sua, si metum simulavit, vestra, si periculum
est apud vos vera referentibus), ego, ne ignoraretis,
esse aliquas et salutis et pacis vobis condiciones, pro
vetusto hospitio, quod mihi vobiscum est, ad vos veni.
3 Vestra autem causa me nec ullius alterius loqui, quæ
loquor apud vos, vel ea fides sit, quod neque, dum
4 vestris viribus restitistis, neque, dum auxilia ab Ro-
manis sperastis, pacis unquam apud vos mentionem
feci. Postquam nec ab Romanis vobis ulla est spes
nec vestra vos iam aut arma aut mœnia satis de-
fendunt, pacem affero ad vos magis necessariam quam
5 æquam. Cuius ita aliqua spes est, si eam, quemad-
modum ut victor fert Hannibal, sic vos ut victi au-
dietis, et non id, quod amittitur, in damno, quum omnia
victoris sint, sed, quicquid relinquitur, pro munere
6 habituri estis. Urbem vobis, quam ex magna parte

dirutam, captam fere totam habet, adimit, agros relin-
quit, locum assignaturus, in quo novum oppidum
ædificetis. Aurum et argentum omne, publicum pri-
vatumque, ad se iubet deferri; corpora vestra, con- 7
iugum ac liberorum vestrorum servat inviolata, si
inermes cum binis vestimentis velitis ab Sagunto ex-
ire. Hæc victor hostis imperat; hæc, quanquam sunt 8
gravia atque acerba, fortuna vestra vobis suadet. Equi-
dem haud despero, quum omnium potestas ei facta sit,
aliquid ex his rebus remissurum; sed vel hæc patienda 9
censeo potius, quam trucidari corpora vestra, rapi
trahique ante ora vestra coniuges ac liberos belli iure
sinatis."

Ad hæc audienda quum circumfusa paulatim mul- 14
titudine permixtum senatui esset populi
concilium, repente primores, secessione
The capture of Saguntum.
facta, priusquam responsum daretur, argentum aurum-
que omne ex publico privatoque in forum collatum in
ignem ad id raptim factum coniicientes, eodem plerique
semet ipsi præcipitaverunt. Quum ex eo pavor ac 2
trepidatio totam urbem pervasisset, alius insuper tu-
multus ex arce auditur. Turris diu quassata proci-
derat, perque ruinam eius cohors Pœnorum impetu
facto quum signum imperatori dedisset, nudatam sta-
tionibus custodiisque solitis hostium esse urbem, non 3
cunctandum in tali occasione ratus Hannibal, totis
viribus aggressus urbem momento cepit, signo dato, ut
omnes puberes interficerentur. Quod imperium cru-
dele, ceterum prope necessarium cognitum ipso eventu
est; cui enim parci potuit ex iis, qui aut inclusi cum 4
coniugibus ac liberis domos super se ipsos concremave-
runt aut armati nullum ante finem pugnæ quam mori-

15 entes fecerunt? Captum oppidum est cum ingenti
præda. Quanquam pleraque ab dominis de industria
corrupta erant, et in cædibus vix ullum discrimen ætatis
2 ira fecerat, et captivi militum præda fuerant, tamen et
ex pretio rerum venditarum aliquantum pecuniæ re-
dactum esse constat et multam pretiosam supellectilem
vestemque missam Carthaginem.

Discrepant statements as to the date of the events described.

3 Octavo mense, quam cœptum oppugnari, captum
Saguntum quidam scripsere; inde Cartha-
ginem Novam in hiberna Hannibalem
concessisse; quinto deinde mense, quam
ab Carthagine profectus sit, in Italiam pervenisse.
4 Quæ si ita sunt, fieri non potuit, ut P. Cornelius, Ti.
Sempronius consules fuerint, ad quos et principio op-
pugnationis legati Saguntini missi sint et qui in suo
magistratu cum Hannibale, alter ad Ticinum amnem,
5 ambo aliquanto post ad Trebiam, pugnaverint. Aut
omnia breviora aliquanto fuere, aut Saguntum prin-
cipio anni, quo P. Cornelius, Ti. Sempronius consules
6 fuerunt, non cœptum oppugnari est, sed captum. Nam
excessisse pugna ad Trebiam in annum Cn. Servilii et
C. Flaminii non potest, quia C. Flaminius Arimini
consulatum iniit, creatus a Ti. Sempronio consule, qui
post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam
quum venisset, comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in hi-
berna rediit.

Indignation and alarm at Rome.

16 Sub idem fere tempus et legati, qui redierant ab Car-
thagine, Romam rettulerunt, omnia hostilia
esse, et Sagunti excidium nuntiatum est;
2 tantusque simul mæror patres misericordiaque sociorum
peremptorum indigne et pudor non lati auxilii et ira
in Carthaginienses metusque de summa rerum cepit,

velut si iam ad portas hostis esset, ut tot uno tempore
motibus animi turbati trepidarent magis quam consu-
lerent: nam neque hostem acriorem bellicosioremque 3
secum congressum, nec rem Romanam tam desidem
unquam fuisse atque imbellem. Sardos Corsosque et 4
Histros atque Illyrios lacessisse magis quam exercuisse
Romana arma, et cum Gallis tumultuatum verius
quam belligeratum; Pœnum hostem veteranum, trium 5
et viginti annorum militia durissima inter Hispanas
gentes semper victorem, duci acerrimo assuetum, re-
centem ab excidio opulentissimæ urbis, Hiberum trans-
ire; trahere secum tot excitos Hispanorum populos;
conciturum avidas semper armorum Gallicas gentes; 6
cum orbe terrarum bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro
mœnibus Romanis esse.

Nominatæ iam antea consulibus provinciæ erant; 17
tum sortiri iussi. Cornelio Hispania, Sem-
pronio Africa cum Sicilia evenit. Sex in 2
eum annum decretæ legiones et socium, quantum ipsis
videretur, et classis, quanta parari posset. Quattuor 3
et viginti peditum Romanorum millia scripta et mille
octingenti equites, sociorum quadraginta millia pedi-
tum, quattuor millia et quadringenti equites; naves
ducentæ viginti quinqueremes, celoces viginti de-
ducti. Latum inde ad populum, vellent iuberent 4
populo Carthaginiensi bellum indici; eiusque belli
causa supplicatio per urbem habita atque adorati dii,
ut bene ac feliciter eveniret, quod bellum populus
Romanus iussisset. Inter consules ita copiæ divisæ: 5
Sempronio datæ legiones duæ (ea quaterna millia erant
peditum et treceni equites) et sociorum sedecim millia
peditum, equites mille octingenti; naves longæ centum

Levies and preparations for the war.

6 sexaginta, celoces duodecim. Cum his terrestribus
maritimisque copiis Ti. Sempronius missus in Siciliam,
ita in Africam transmissurus, si ad arcendum Italia
7 Pœnum consul alter satis esset. Cornelio minus
copiarum datum, quia L. Manlius prætor et ipse cum
8 haud invalido præsidio in Galliam mittebatur; navium
maxime Cornelio numerus deminutus; sexaginta quin-
queremes datæ (neque enim mari venturum aut ea
parte belli dimicaturum hostem credebant) et duæ
Romanæ legiones cum suo iusto equitatu et quattuor-
decim millibus sociorum peditum, equitibus mille sex-
9 centis. Duas legiones Romanas et decem millia socio-
rum peditum, mille equites socios, sexcentos Romanos
Gallia provincia eodem versa in Punicum bellum habuit.

A second embassy is sent to Carthage; but without effect.

18 His ita comparatis, ut omnia iusta ante bellum
fierent, legatos maiores natu, Q. Fabium,
M. Livium, L. Æmilium, C. Licinium,
Q. Bæbium, in Africam mittunt ad percontandos Car-
thaginienses, publicone consilio Hannibal Saguntum
2 oppugnasset, et, si, id quod facturi videbantur, fateren-
tur ac defenderent publico consilio factum, ut indice-
3 rent populo Carthaginiensi bellum. Romani postquam
Carthaginem venerunt, quum senatus datus esset et Q.
Fabius nihil ultra quam unum, quod mandatum erat,
percontatus esset, tum ex Carthaginiensibus unus:
4 "Præceps vestra, Romani, et prior legatio fuit, quum
Hannibalem tanquam suo consilio Saguntum oppug-
nantem deposcebatis; ceterum hæc legatio verbis adhuc
5 lenior est, re asperior. Tunc enim Hannibal et insi-
mulabatur et deposcebatur; nunc ab nobis et confessio
culpæ exprimitur et ut a confessis res extemplo repe-
6 tuntur. Ego autem non, privato publicone consilio

Saguntum oppugnatum sit, quærendum censeam, sed
utrum iure an iniuria; nostra enim hæc quæstio atque 7
animadversio in civem nostrum est, quid nostro aut
suo fecerit arbitrio; vobiscum una disceptatio est,
licueritne per fœdus fieri. Itaque quoniam discerni 8
placet, quid publico consilio, quid sua sponte imperatores
faciant, nobis vobiscum fœdus est a C. Lutatio
consule ictum, in quo quum caveretur utrorumque
sociis, nihil de Saguntinis (necdum enim erant socii
vestri) cautum est. At enim eo fœdere, quod cum 9
Hasdrubale ictum est, Saguntini excipiuntur. Adversus
quod ego nihil dicturus sum, nisi quod a vobis
didici. Vos enim, quod C. Lutatius consul primo 10
nobiscum fœdus icit, quia neque auctoritate patrum
nec populi iussu ictum erat, negastis vos eo teneri;
itaque aliud de integro fœdus publico consilio ictum
est. Si vos non tenent fœdera vestra nisi ex auctori- 11
tate aut iussu vestro icta, ne nos quidem Hasdrubalis
fœdus, quod nobis insciis icit, obligare potuit. Proinde 12
omittite Sagunti atque Hiberi mentionem facere, et,
quod diu parturit animus vester, aliquando pariat."
Tum Romanus, sinu ex toga facto, "Hic" inquit 13
"vobis bellum et pacem portamus; utrum placet,
sumite." Sub hanc vocem haud minus ferociter,
daret, utrum vellet, succlamatum est; et 14
quum is iterum, sinu effuso, bellum dare
dixisset, accipere se omnes responderunt et, quibus
acciperent animis, iisdem se gesturos.

and war is declared.

19 Hæc directa percontatio ac denuntiatio belli magis
ex dignitate populi Romani visa est quam
de fœderum iure verbis disceptare, quum
ante, tum maxime Sagunto excisa. Nam si verborum 2

It was idle then to discuss the terms of the old treaties.

disceptationis res esset, quid fœdus Hasdrubalis cum
Lutatii priore fœdere, quod mutatum est, comparan-
3 dum erat, quum in Lutatii fœdere diserte additum
esset, ita id ratum fore, si populus censuisset, in Has-
drubalis fœdere nec exceptum tale quicquam fuerit, et
tot annorum silentio ita vivo eo comprobatum sit
fœdus, ut ne mortuo quidem auctore quicquam muta-
4 retur? Quanquam, etsi priore fœdere staretur, satis
cautum erat Saguntinis, sociis utrorumque exceptis;
nam neque additum erat "iis, qui tunc essent," nec,
5 "ne qui postea assumerentur." Et quum assumere
novos liceret socios, quis æquum censeret, aut ob
nulla quemquam merita in amicitiam recipi aut recep-
tos in fidem non defendi, tantum ne Carthaginiensium
socii aut sollicitarentur ad defectionem aut sua sponte
desciscentes reciperentur?

The Roman envoys met with little encouragement among the Spanish tribes,

6 Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicut iis Romæ im-
peratum erat, in Hispaniam, ut adirent
civitates et in societatem pellicerent aut
7 averterent a Pœnis, traiecerunt. Ad
Bargusios primum venerunt, a quibus benigne excepti,
quia tædebat imperii Punici, multos trans Hiberum
8 populos ad cupidinem novæ fortunæ erexerunt. Ad
Volcianos inde est ventum, quorum celebre per His-
paniam responsum ceteros populos ab societate Roma-
na avertit. Ita enim maximus natu ex iis in concilio
9 respondit: "Quæ verecundia est, Romani, postulare
vos, uti vestram Carthaginiensium amicitiæ prælpona-
mus, quum, qui id fecerunt, crudelius, quam Pœnus
10 hostis perdidit, vos socii prodideritis? Ibi quæratis
socios censeo, ubi Saguntina clades ignota est; His-
panis populis sicut lugubre, ita insigne documentum

Sagunti ruinæ erunt, ne quis fidei Romanæ aut socie-
tati confidat." Inde extemplo abire finibus Volciano- 11
rum iussi, ab nullo deinde concilio Hispaniæ benigniora
verba tulere. Ita nequicquam peragrata Hispania, in
Galliam transeunt. † In his nova terribi- 20
lisque species visa est, quod armati (ita
mos gentis erat) in concilium venerunt. Quum verbis 2
extollentes gloriam virtutemque populi Romani ac mag-
nitudinem imperii petissent, ne Pœno bellum Italiæ in-
ferenti per agros urbesque suas transitum darent, tantus
cum fremitu risus dicitur ortus, ut vix a magistratibus 3
maioribusque natu iuventus sedaretur; adeo stolida 4
impudensque postulatio visa est censere, ne in Italiam
transmittant Galli bellum, ipsos id avertere in se
agrosque suos pro alienis populandos obiicere. | Sedato 5
tandem fremitu, responsum legatis est, neque Romano-
rum in se meritum esse neque Carthaginiensium in-
iuriam, ob quæ aut pro Romanis aut adversus Pœnos
sumant arma; contra ea audire sese, gentis suæ homi- 6
nes agro finibusque Italiæ pelli a populo Romano
stipendiumque pendere et cetera indigna pati. Eadem 7
ferme in ceteris Galliæ conciliis dicta auditaque, nec
hospitale quicquam pacatumve satis prius auditum,
quam Massiliam venere. Ibi omnia ab 8
sociis inquisita cum cura ac fide cognita:
præoccupatos iam ante ab Hannibale Gallorum animos
esse; sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore
(adeo ferocia atque indomita ingenia esse), ni subinde
auro, cuius avidissima gens est, principum animi conci-
lientur. Ita peragratis Hispaniæ et Galliæ populis, 9
legati Romam redeunt haud ita multo post, quam con-
sules in provincias profecti erant. Civitatem omnem

and none in Gaul.

except at Massilia.

exspectatione belli erectam invenerunt, satis constante fama, iam Hiberum Pœnos transmisisse.

21 Hannibal Sagunto capto Carthaginem Novam in hiberna concesserat, ibique auditis, quæ Romæ quæque Carthagine acta decretaque forent, seque non ducem solum, sed etiam causam esse

Hannibal winters at Carthago Nova, and sends his Spanish troops home on furlough.

2 belli, partitis divenditisque reliquiis prædæ nihil ultra differendum ratus, Hispani generis
3 milites convocat. "Credo ego vos" inquit, "socii, et ipsos cernere, pacatis omnibus Hispaniæ populis, aut finiendam nobis militiam exercitusque dimittendos
4 esse aut in alias terras transferendum bellum: ita enim hæ gentes non pacis solum, sed etiam victoriæ bonis florebunt, si ex aliis gentibus prædam et gloriam quæ-
5 remus. Itaque quum longinqua a domo instet militia incertumque sit, quando domos vestras et quæ cuique ibi cara sunt, visuri sitis, si quis vestrum suos invisere
6 vult, commeatum do. Primo vere edico adsitis, ut diis bene iuvantibus bellum ingentis gloriæ prædæque
7 futurum incipiamus." Omnibus fere visendi domos oblata ultro potestas grata erat, et iam desiderantibus suos et longius in futurum providentibus desiderium.
8 Per totum tempus hiemis quies inter labores aut iam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos renovavit corpora animosque ad omnia de integro patienda; vere primo ad edictum convenere.

9 Hannibal quum recensuisset omnium gentium auxilia, Gades profectus Herculi vota exsolvit, novisque se obligat votis, si cetera

While mustering at Gades his forces for the war he provides for the defence of Africa

10 prospera evenissent. Inde partiens curas simul *in* inferendum atque arcendum bellum, ne, dum ipse terrestri per Hispaniam Galliasque itinere

Italiam peteret, nuda apertaque Romanis Africa ab Sicilia esset, valido præsidio firmare eam statuit; pro 11
eo supplementum ipse ex Africa maxime iaculatorum, levium armis, petiit, ut Afri in Hispania, Hispani in Africa, melior procul ab domo futurus uterque miles, velut mutuis pigneribus obligati, stipendia facerent. Tredecim millia octingentos quinquaginta pedites cæ- 12
tratos misit in Africam et funditores Baliares octingentos septuaginta, equites mixtos ex multis gentibus mille ducentos. Has copias partim Carthagini præsi- 13
dio esse, partim distribui per Africam iubet. Simul conquisitoribus in civitates missis, quattuor millia conscripta delectæ iuventutis, præsidium eosdem et obsides, duci Carthaginem iubet. Neque Hispaniam negligendam 22
ratus, atque id eo minus, quod haud ignarus erat, circumitam ab Romanis eam

and Spain.

legatis ad sollicitandos principum animos, Hasdrubali 2
fratri, viro impigro, eam provinciam destinat, firmatque eam Africis maxime præsidiis, peditum Afrorum undecim millibus octingentis quinquaginta, Liguribus trecentis, Baliaribus *quingentis*. Ad hæc peditum 3
auxilia additi equites Libyphœnices, mixtum Punicum Afris genus, quadringenti *quinquaginta* et Numidæ Maurique accolæ Oceani ad mille octingenti et parva Ilergetum manus ex Hispania, ducenti equites, et, ne quod terrestris deesset auxilii genus, elephanti viginti unus. Classis præterea data ad tuendam maritimam 4
oram, quia, qua parte belli vicerant, ea tum quoque rem gesturos Romanos credi poterat, quinquaginta quinqueremes, quadriremes duæ, triremes quinque; sed aptæ instructæque remigio triginta et duæ quinqueremes erant et triremes quinque.

5 Ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitus rediit; atque inde profectus præter Onusam urbem ad Hiberum maritima ora ducit.

His vision on the way from Gades.

6 Ibi fama est in quiete visum ab eo iuvenem divina specie, qui se ab Iove diceret ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum; proinde sequeretur neque usquam a se
7 deflecteret oculos. Pavidum primo, nusquam circumspicientem aut respicientem, secutum; deinde cura ingenii humani quum, quidnam id esset, quod respicere vetitus esset, agitaret animo, temperare oculis ne-
8 quivisse; tum vidisse post sese serpentem mira magnitudine cum ingenti arborum ac virgultorum strage
9 ferri, ac post insequi cum fragore cæli nimbum. Tum, quæ moles ea quidve prodigii esset, quærentem audisse, vastitatem Italiæ esse; pergeret porro ire nec ultra inquireret sineretque fata in occulto esse.

23 Hoc visu lætus tripertito Hiberum copias traiecit, præmissis, qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus exercitus erat, donis conciliarent Alpiumque transitus specularentur. Nonaginta millia peditum, duodecim millia equitum Hiberum traduxit.

He crosses the Hiberus,

2 Ilergetes inde Bargusiosque et Ausetanos et Lacetaniam, quæ subiecta Pyrenæis montibus est, subegit, oræque huic omni præfecit Hannonem, ut fauces, quæ Hispanias Galliis iungunt, in
3 potestate essent. Decem millia peditum Hannoni ad præsidium obtinendæ regionis data et mille equites.
4 Postquam per Pyrenæum saltum traduci exercitus est cœptus, rumorque per barbaros manavit certior de bello Romano, tria millia inde Carpetanorum peditum iter averterunt. Constabat, non tam bello motos quam longinquitate viæ inexsuperabilique Alpium transitu.

subduing the Spanish tribes on his way,

Hannibal, quia revocare aut vi retinere eos anceps 5
erat, ne ceterorum etiam feroces animi
irritarentur, supra septem millia homi- 6
num domos remisit, quos et ipsos gravari militia sense-
rat, Carpetanos quoque ab se dimissos simulans. Inde, ne 24
mora atque otium animos sollicitaret, cum reliquis copiis
Pyrenæum transgreditur et ad oppidum
Iliberri castra locat. Galli quanquam 2
Italiæ bellum inferri audiebant, tamen, quia vi subactos
trans Pyrenæum Hispanos fama erat præsidiaque valida
imposita, metu servitutis ad arma consternati Rusci-
nonem aliquot populi conveniunt. Quod ubi Hanni- 3
bali nuntiatum est, moram magis quam bellum metu-
ens, oratores ad regulos eorum misit, colloqui semet
ipsum cum iis velle; [et] vel illi propius Iliberrim
accederent, vel se Ruscinonem processurum, ut ex pro-
pinquo congressus facilior esset; nam et accepturum 4
eos in castra sua se lætum nec cunctanter
se ipsum ad eos venturum; hospitem enim
se Galliæ, non hostem advenisse, nec stricturum ante
gladium, si per Gallos liceat, quam in Italiam venisset.
Et per nuntios quidem hæc; ut vero reguli Gallorum 5
castris ad Iliberrim extemplo motis haud gravanter ad
Pœnum venerunt, capti donis cum bona pace exerci-
tum per fines suos præter Ruscinonem oppidum trans-
miserunt.

and sending home unwilling contingents,

crosses the Pyrenees,

and explains away the fears of Gallic tribes.

In Italiam interim nihil ultra, quam Hiberum 25
transisse Hannibalem, a Massiliensium
legatis Romam perlatum erat, quum, per-
inde ac si Alpes iam transisset, Boii solli- 2
citatis Insubribus defecerunt, nec tam ob
veteres in populum Romanum iras, quam quod nuper

The outbreak in Cisalpinè Gaul provoked by the Roman colonies of Placentia and Cremona.

circa Padum Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in
3 agrum Gallicum deductas ægre patiebantur. Itaque
armis repente arreptis, in eum ipsum agrum impetu
facto, tantum terroris ac tumultus fecerunt, ut non
agrestis modo multitudo, sed ipsi triumviri Romani,
qui ad agrum venerant assignandum, diffisi Placentiæ
mœnibus Mutinam confugerint, C. Lutatius, C. Ser-
4 vilius, M. Annius. Lutatii nomen haud dubium
est; pro Annio Servilioque M'. Acilium et C. Heren-
nium habent quidam annales, alii P. Cornelium Asi-
5 nam et C. Papirium Masonem. Id quoque dubium
est, legati ad expostulandum missi ad Boios violati
sint, an in triumviros agrum metantes impetus sit
6 factus. Mutinæ quum obsiderentur et gens ad oppug-
nandarum urbium artes rudis, pigerrima eadem ad
militaria opera, segnis intactis assideret muris, simu-
7 lari cœptum de pace agi; avocatique ab Gallorum
principibus legati ad colloquium non contra ius modo
gentium, sed violata etiam, quæ data in id tempus
erat, fide comprehenduntur, negantibus Gallis, nisi
8 obsides sibi redderentur, eos dimissuros. Quum hæc
de legatis nuntiata essent et Mutina præsidiumque in
periculo esset, L. Manlius prætor ira accensus effusum
9 agmen ad Mutinam ducit. Silvæ tunc circa viam
erant, plerisque incultis. Ibi inexplorato profectus in
insidias præcipitat, multaque cum cæde suorum ægre
10 in apertos campos emersit. Ibi castra communita et,
quia Gallis ad tentanda ea defuit spes, refecti sunt
militum animi, quanquam ad *quingentos* cecidisse satis
11 constabat. Iter deinde de integro cœptum, nec, dum
per patentia loca ducebatur agmen, apparuit hostis;
12 ubi rursus silvæ intratæ, tum postremos adorti cum

magna trepidatione ac pavore omnium septingentos
milites occiderunt, sex signa ademere. Finis et Gallis 13
territandi et pavendi fuit Romanis, ut e saltu invio
atque impedito evasere. Inde apertis locis facile tu-
tantes agmen Romani Tannetum, vicum propinquum
Pado, contendere. Ibi se munimento ad tempus com- 14
meatibusque fluminis et Brixianorum etiam Gallorum
auxilio adversus crescentem in dies multitudinem
hostium tutabantur. Qui tumultus repens postquam 26
est Romam perlatus, et Punicum insuper Gallico bel-
lum auctum patres acceperunt, C. Atilium prætorem 2
cum una legione Romana et quinque milibus sociorum,
dilectu novo a consule conscriptis, auxilium ferre Man-
lio iubent; qui sine ullo certamine (abscesserant enim
metu hostes) Tannetum pervenit.

Et P. Cornelius, in locum eius, quæ missa cum 3
prætore erat, scripta legione nova, profec-
tus ab urbe sexaginta longis navibus
præter oram Etruriæ Ligurumque et inde
Salyum montes pervenit Massiliam, et ad proximum 4
ostium Rhodani (pluribus enim divisus amnis in mare
decurrit) castra locat, vixdum satis credens Hanniba-
lem superasse Pyrenæos montes. Quem ut de Rho- 5
dani quoque transitu agitare animadvertit, incertus,
quonam ei loco occurreret, necdum satis refectis ab
iactatione maritima militibus, trecentos interim delec-
tos equites ducibus Massiliensibus et auxiliaribus Gallis
ad exploranda omnia visendosque ex tuto hostes præ-
mittit. Hannibal, ceteris metu aut pretio pacatis, iam 6
in Volcarum pervenerat agrum, gentis validæ. Colunt
autem circa utramque ripam Rhodani; sed diffisi, cite-
riore agro arceri Pœnum posse, ut flumen pro muni-

Scipio after some delay reaches Massilia, but too late to check the advance of Hannibal.

mento haberent, omnibus ferme suis trans Rhodanum traiectis ulteriorem ripam amnis armis obtinebant.
7 Ceteros accolas fluminis Hannibal et eorum ipsorum, quos sedes suæ tenuerant, simul pellicit donis ad naves undique contrahendas fabricandasque, simul et ipsi traiici exercitum levarique quam primum regionem
8 suam tanta hominum urgente turba cupiebant. Itaque ingens coacta vis navium est lintriumque temere ad vicinalem usum paratarum; novasque alias primum
9 Galli inchoantes cavabant ex singulis arboribus, deinde et ipsi milites, simul copia materiæ, simul facilitate operis inducti, alveos informes, nihil, dummodo innare aquæ et capere onera possent, curantes, raptim, quibus se suaque transveherent, faciebant.

27 who forces the passage of the Rhone in spite of the opposition of the natives,

Iamque omnibus satis comparatis ad traiiciendum, terrebant ex adverso hostes,
2 omnem ripam equites virique obtinentes. Quos ut averteret, Hannonem Bomilcaris filium vigilia prima noctis cum parte copiarum, maxime Hispanis, adverso
3 flumine ire iter unius diei iubet et, ubi primum possit, quam occultissime traiecto amni, circumducere agmen, ut, quum opus facto sit, adoriatur ab tergo
4 hostem. Ad id dati duces Galli edocent, inde millia quinque et viginti ferme supra parvæ insulæ circumfusum amnem latiore, ubi dividebatur, eoque minus
5 alto alveo transitum ostendere. Ibi raptim cæsa materia ratesque fabricatæ, in quibus equi virique et alia onera traiicerentur. Hispani sine ulla mole, in utres vestimentis coniectis, ipsi cætris superpositis incuban-
6 tes flumen tranavere. Et alius exercitus ratibus iunctis traiectus, castris prope flumen positis, nocturno itinere atque operis labore fessus quiete unius diei

reficitur, intento duce ad consilium opportune exsequendum. Postero die profecti ex loco edito fumo 7
significant, transisse, et haud procul abesse; quod ubi
accepit Hannibal, ne tempori deesset, dat signum ad
traiiciendum. Iam paratas aptatasque habebat pedes 8
lintres, eques fere propter equos naves. Navium
agmen ad excipiendum adversi impetum fluminis parte
superiore transmittens tranquillitatem infra traiicientibus lintribus præbebat; equorum pars magna nantes 9
loris a puppibus trahebantur, præter eos, quos instratos frenatosque, ut extemplo egresso in ripam equiti
usui essent, imposuerant in naves. Galli occursant in 28
ripa cum variis ululatibus cantuque moris sui, quatientes scuta super capita vibrantesque dextris tela,
quanquam et ex adverso terrebat tanta vis navium 2
cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore vario nautarum
militumque, et qui nitebantur perrumpere impetum
fluminis et qui ex altera ripa traiicientes suos hortabantur. Iam satis paventes adverso tumultu terribilior 3
ab tergo adortus clamor, castris ab Hannone captis.
Mox et ipse aderat, ancepsque terror circumstabat, et
e navibus tanta vi armatorum in terram evadente et
ab tergo improvisa premente acie. Galli postquam 4
utroque vim facere conati pellebantur, qua patere visum
maxime iter, perrumpunt, trepidique in vicos passim
suos diffugiunt. Hannibal, ceteris copiis per otium
traiectis, spernens iam Gallicos tumultus castra locat.

Elephantorum traiiciendorum varia consilia fuisse 5
credo; certe variat memoria actæ rei. Quidam congregatis ad ripam elephantis tradunt ferocissimum ex iis irritatum ab rectore suo, quum refugientem in aquam

and of the difficulty of getting the elephants across, which is variously described in our authorities.

[nantem] sequeretur, traxisse gregem, ut quemque ti-
mentem altitudinem destituerit vadum, impetu ipso
6 fluminis in alteram ripam rapiente. Ceterum magis
constat, ratibus traiectos; id ut tutius consilium ante
7 rem foret, ita acta re ad fidem pronius est. Ratem
unam ducentos longam pedes, quinquaginta latam a
terra in amnem porrexerunt, quam, ne secunda aqua
deferretur, pluribus validis retinaculis parte superiore
ripæ religatam pontis in modum humo iniecta constra-
verunt, ut beluæ audacter velut per solum ingrederen-
8 tur. Altera ratis æque lata, longa pedes centum, ad
traiiciendum flumen apta, huic copulata est; tum ele-
phanti per stabilem ratem tanquam viam, prægredien-
tibus feminis, acti ubi in minorem applicatam trans-
9 gressi sunt, extemplo resolutis, quibus leviter annexa
erat, vinculis, ab actuariis aliquot navibus ad alteram
ripam pertrahitur; ita primis expositis, alii deinde
10 repetiti ac traiecti sunt. Nihil sane trepidabant, donec
continenti velut ponte agerentur; primus erat pavor,
11 quum, soluta ab ceteris rate, in altum raperentur. Ibi
urgentes inter se, cedentibus extremis ab aqua, trepi-
dationis aliquantum edebant, donec quietem ipse timor
12 circumspectantibus aquam fecisset. Excidere etiam
sævientes quidam in flumen; sed pondere ipso stabiles,
deiectis rectoribus, quærendis pedetentim vadis in
terram evasere.

29 Dum elephanti traiiciuntur, interim Hannibal Nu-
midas equites quingentos ad castra Ro-
mana miserat speculatum, ubi et quantæ

Meanwhile there is a sharp encounter between some cavalry sent out to reconnoitre on either side.

2 copiæ essent et quid pararent. Huic alæ
equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab
ostio Rhodani trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt.

Prœlium atrocius quam pro numero pugnantium edi-
tur; nam præter multa vulnera cædes etiam prope par 3
utrinque fuit, fugaque et pavor Numidarum Romanis
iam admodum fessis victoriam dedit. Victores ad
centum sexaginta, nec omnes Romani, sed pars Gal-
lorum, victi amplius ducenti ceciderunt. Hoc prin- 4
cipium simul omenque belli ut summæ rerum prospe-
rum eventum, ita haud sane incruentam ancipitisque
certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit.

Ut re ita gesta ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, 5
nec Scipioni stare sententia poterat, nisi ut ex consi-
liis cœptisque hostis et ipse conatus caperet, et Hanni- 6
balem incertum, utrum cœptum in Italiam intenderet
iter an cum eo, qui primus se obtulisset Romanus
exercitus, manus consereret, avertit a præsenti certa-
mine Boiorum legatorum regulique Magali adventus,
qui se duces itinerum, socios periculi fore affirmantes,
integro bello, nusquam ante libatis viribus Italiam
aggrediendam censent. Multitudo timebat quidem 7
hostem, nondum oblitterata memoria superioris belli,
sed magis iter immensum Alpesque, rem fama utique
inexpertis horrendam, metuebat. Itaque 30
Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit
pergere ire atque Italiam petere, advocata

Hannibal resolves to push on, leaving Scipio in his rear. He encourages his army,

contione, varie militum versat animos castigando ad-
hortandoque: Mirari se, quinam pectora semper im- 2
pavida repens terror invaserit. Per tot annos vincen-
tes eos stipendia facere neque ante Hispania excessisse,
quam omnes gentesque et terræ, quas duo diversa
maria amplectantur, Carthaginiensium essent. Indig- 3
natos deinde, quod, quicumque Saguntum obsedissent,
velut ob noxam sibi dedi postularet populus Romanus,

Hiberum traiecisse ad delendum nomen Romanorum
4 liberandumque orbem terrarum. Tum nemini visum
id longum, quum ab occasu solis ad exortus intende-
5 rent iter; nunc, postquam multo maiorem partem iti-
neris emensam cernant, Pyrenæum saltum inter fero-
cissimas gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum amnem,
tot millibus Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam
ipsius fluminis vi, traiectum, in conspectu Alpes ha-
6 beant, quarum alterum latus Italiæ sit, in ipsis portis
hostium fatigatos subsistere, quid Alpes aliud esse
7 credentes quam montium altitudines? Fingerent
altiores Pyrenæi iugis; nullas profecto terras cælum
contingere nec inexsuperabiles humano generi esse.
Alpes quidem habitari, coli, gignere atque alere ani-
8 mantes; pervias fauces esse exercitibus. Eos ipsos,
quos cernant, legatos non pinnis sublime elatos Alpes
transgressos. Ne maiores quidem eorum indigenas,
sed advenas Italiæ cultores has ipsas Alpes ingentibus
sæpe agminibus cum liberis ac coniugibus, migrantium
9 modo, tuto transmisisse. Militi quidem armato, nihil
secum præter instrumenta belli portanti, quid invium
aut inexsuperabile esse? Saguntum ut caperetur, quid
per octo menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustum esse?
10 Romam, caput orbis terrarum, petentibus quicquam
adeo asperum atque arduum videri, quod inceptum
11 moretur? Cepisse quondam Gallos ea, quæ adiri posse
Pœnus desperet; proinde aut cederent animo atque
virtute genti per eos dies toties ab se victæ, aut itineris
finem sperent campum interiacentem Tiberi ac mœni-
bus Romanis.

31 His adhortationibus incitatos corpora curare atque
2 ad iter se parare iubet. Postero die profectus adversa

ripa Rhodani mediterranea Galliæ petit, non quia rectior ad Alpes via esset, sed, quantum a mari recessisset, minus obvium fore Romanum credens, cum quo, priusquam in 3
Italiam ventum foret, non erat in animo manus conserere. Quartis castris ad Insulam pervenit. 4
Ibi Isara Rhodanusque amnes diversis ex Alpibus decurrentes, agri aliquantum amplexi confluunt in unum; mediis campis Insulæ nomen inditum. Incolunt prope 5
Allobroges, gens iam inde nulla Gallica gente opibus aut fama inferior. Tum discors erat. Regni certamine 6
ambigebant fratres; maior et qui prius imperitarat, Braneus nomine, minore ab fratre et cœtu iuniorum, qui iure minus vi plus poterat, pellebatur. Huius 7
seditionis peropportuna disceptatio quum ad Hannibalem reiecta esset, arbiter regni factus, quod ea senatus principumque sententia fuerat, imperium maiori restituit. Ob id meritum commeatu copiaque rerum 8
omnium, maxime vestis, est adiutus, quam infames frigoribus Alpes præparari cogebant. Sedatis Hannibal 9
certaminibus Allobrogum quum iam Alpes peteret, non recta regione iter instituit, sed ad lævam in Tricastinos flexit; inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tendit in Tricorios, haud usquam impedita via, priusquam ad Druentiam flumen pervenit. Is et ipse Alpinus amnis 10
longe omnium Galliæ fluminum difficillimus transitu est; nam, quum aquæ vim vehat ingentem, non tamen navium patiens est, quia nullis coercitus ripis, pluribus 11
simul neque iisdem alveis fluens, nova semper vada novosque gurgites (et ob eadem pediti quoque incerta via est), ad hoc saxa glareosa volvens, nihil stabile nec

and marches up the Rhone to the Insula, where he takes part in a civil war among the Allobroges.

He then turns to the Tricastini and Tricorii towards the river Druentia.

12 tutum ingredienti præbet; et tum forte imbribus auc-
tus ingentem transgredientibus tumultum fecit, quum
super cetera trepidatione ipsi sua atque incertis clamor-
ibus turbarentur.

32 P. Cornelius consul triduo fere post, quam Hanni-
bal a ripa Rhodani movit, quadrato agmine
ad castra hostium venerat, nullam dimi-
2 candi moram facturus; ceterum ubi de-
serta munimenta nec facile se tantum
prægressos assecuturum videt, ad mare ac
naves rediit, tutius faciliusque ita descendenti ab Al-
3 pibus Hannibali occursurus. Ne tamen nuda auxiliis
Romanis Hispania esset, quam provinciam sortitus
erat, Cn. Scipionem fratrem cum maxima parte co-
4 piarum adversus Hasdrubalem misit, non ad tuendos
tantummodo veteres socios conciliandosque novos, sed
5 etiam ad pellendum Hispania Hasdrubalem. Ipse cum
admodum exiguis copiis Genuam repetit eo, qui circa
Padum erat exercitus, Italiam defensurus.

Scipio instead of pursuing Hannibal sends most of his army to Spain under his brother Cnæus and returns to the North of Italy.

6 Hannibal ab Druentia campestri maxime itinere ad
Alpes cum bona pace incolentium ea loca
7 Gallorum pervenit. Tum, quanquam fama
prius, qua incerta in maius vero ferri
solent, præcepta res erat, tamen ex pro-
pinquo visa montium altitudo nivesque cælo prope im-
mixtæ, tecta informia imposita rupibus, pecora iumen-
taque torrida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti, ani-
malia inanimaque omnia rigentia gelu, cetera visu
8 quam dictu fœdiora, terrorem renovarunt. Erigentibus
in primos agmen clivos apparuerunt imminentes tu-
mulos insidentes montani, qui, si valles occultiores
insedissent, coorti ad pugnam repente ingentem fugam

Hannibal's army is beset with danger in the passage of the Alps from the hostile mountaineers

stragemque dedissent. Hannibal consistere signa ius- 9
sit; Gallisque ad visenda loca præmissis, postquam
comperit, transitum ea non esse, castra
inter confragosa omnia præruptaque, quam
extentissima potest valle, locat. Tum per eosdem Gallos, 10
haud sane multum lingua moribusque abhorrentes, quum
se immiscuissent colloquiis montanorum, edoctus, in-
terdiu tantum obsideri saltum, nocte in sua quemque
dilabi tecta, luce prima subiit tumulos, ut ex aperto
atque interdiu vim per angustias facturus. Die deinde 11
simulando aliud, quam quod parabatur, consumpto,
quum eodem, quo constiterant, loco castra communis-
sent, ubi primum degressos tumulis montanos laxa- 12
tasque sensit custodias, pluribus ignibus quam pro
numero manentium in speciem factis impedimentisque
cum equite relictis et maxima parte peditum, ipse cum 13
expeditis, acerrimo quoque viro, raptim angustias
evadit iisque ipsis tumulis, quos hostes tenuerant, con-
sedit. Prima deinde luce castra mota et agmen reli- 33
quum incedere cœpit. Iam montani signo dato ex 2
castellis ad stationem solitam conveniebant, quum re-
pente conspiciunt alios, arce occupata sua, super caput
imminentes, alios via transire hostes. Utraque simul 3
obiecta res oculis animisque immobiles parumper eos
defixit; deinde, ut trepidationem in angustiis suoque
ipsum tumultu misceri agmen videre, equis maxime
consternatis, quicquid adiecissent ipsi terroris, satis ad 4
perniciem fore rati, transversis rupibus per iuxta invia
ac devia assueti decurrunt. Tum vero simul ab hosti- 5
bus, simul ab iniquitate locorum Pœni oppugnabantur,
plusque inter ipsos, sibi quoque tendente, ut periculo
prius evaderet, quam cum hostibus certaminis erat.

who bar their way with open force

6 Equi maxime infestum agmen faciebant, qui et clamori-
bus dissonis, quos nemora etiam repercussæque valles
augebant, territi trepidabant, et icti forte aut vulne-
rati adeo consternabantur, ut stragem ingentem simul
7 hominum ac sarcinarum omnis generis facerent; mul-
tosque turba, quum præcipites deruptæque utrinque
angustiæ essent, in immensum altitudinis deiecit, quos-
dam et armatos; sed ruinæ maxime modo iumenta
8 cum oneribus devolvebantur. Quæ quanquam fœda
visu erant, stetit parumper tamen Hannibal ac suos
9 continuit, ne tumultum ac trepidationem augeret; de-
inde, postquam interrumpi agmen vidit periculumque
esse, ne exutum impedimentis exercitum nequicquam
incolumem traduxisset, decurrit ex superiore loco et,
quum impetu ipso fudisset hostem, suis quoque tumul-
10 tum auxit. Sed is tumultus momento temporis, post-
quam liberata itinera fuga montanorum erant, sedatur,
nec per otium modo, sed prope silentio mox omnes
11 traducti. Castellum inde, quod caput eius regionis
erat, viculosque circumiectos capit, et captivo *cibo* ac
pecoribus per triduum exercitum aluit; et, quia nec
montanis primo perculsis nec loco magno opere impe-
diebantur, aliquantum eo triduo viæ confecit.

34 Perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium,
ut inter montanos, populum. Ibi non
bello aperto, sed suis artibus, fraude et
2 insidiis, est prope circumventus. Magno natu prin-
cipes castellorum oratores ad Pœnum veniunt, alienis
malis, utili exemplo, doctos memorantes amicitiam
3 malle quam vim experiri Pœnorum: itaque obedienter
imperata facturos: commeatum itinerisque duces et
4 ad fidem promissorum obsides acciperet. Hannibal

or ambuscades.

nec temere credendum nec aspernandum ratus, ne re-
pudiati aperte hostes fierent, benigne quum respon-
disset, obsidibus, quos dabant, acceptis et commeatu,
quem in viam ipsi detulerant, usus, nequaquam ut
inter pacatos composito agmine duces eorum sequitur.
Primum agmen elephanti et equites erant; ipse post 5
cum robore peditum circumspectans sollicitus omnia
incedebat. Ubi in angustiorem viam et parte altera 6
subiectam iugo insuper imminenti ventum est, undique
ex insidiis barbari, a fronte, ab tergo coorti, cominus,
eminus petunt, saxa ingentia in agmen devolvunt.
Maxima ab tergo vis hominum urgebat. In eos versa 7
peditum acies haud dubium fecit, quin, nisi firmata ex-
trema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipienda
clades fuerit. Tunc quoque ad extremum periculi ac 8
prope perniciem ventum est; nam, dum cunctatur
Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias, quia non, ut
ipse equitibus præsidio erat, ita peditibus quicquam ab
tergo auxilii reliquerat, occursantes per obliqua mon- 9
tani, interrupto medio agmine, viam insedere, noxque
una Hannibali sine equitibus atque impedimentis acta
est. Postero die, iam segnius intercursantibus bar- 35
baris, iunctæ copiæ, saltusque haud sine clade, maiore
tamen iumentorum quam hominum pernicie, supera-
tus. Inde montani pauciores iam et latrocinii magis
quam belli more concursabant, modo in primum, modo 2
in novissimum agmen, utcunque aut locus opportuni-
tatem daret aut progressi morative aliquam occasionem
fecissent. Elephanti sicut per artas præcipites*que* vias 3
magna mora agebantur, ita tutum ab hostibus, quacun-
que incederent, quia insuetis adeundi propius metus
erat, agmen præbebant.

4 Nono die in iugum Alpium perventum est per in-
via pleraque et errores, quos aut ducen-
tium fraus aut, ubi fides iis non esset, te-
mere initæ valles a coniectantibus iter
5 faciebant. Biduum in iugo stativa habita,
fessisque labore ac pugnando quies data militibus; iu-
mentaque aliquot, quæ prolapsa in rupibus erant, se-
6 quendo vestigia agminis in castra pervenere. Fessis
tædio tot malorum nivis etiam casus, occidente iam
7 sidere Vergiliarum, ingentem terrorem adiecit. Per
omnia nive oppleta quum, signis prima luce motis, seg-
niter agmen incederet, pigritiaque et desperatio in
8 omnium vultu emineret, prægressus signa Hannibal in
promuntorio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus
erat, consistere iussis militibus Italiam ostentat sub-
9 iectosque Alpinis montibus Circumpadanos campos, mœ-
niaque eos tum transcendere non Italiæ modo, sed etiam
urbis Romanæ; cetera plana, proclivia fore; uno aut
summum altero prœlio arcem et caput Italiæ in manu
10 ac potestate habituros. | Procedere inde agmen cœpit,
iam nihil ne hostibus quidem præter parva furta per
occasionem tentantibus. Ceterum iter multo, quam
in ascensu fuerat (ut pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut
11 breviora, ita arrectiora sunt), difficilius fuit; omnis
12 enim ferme via præceps, angusta, lubrica erat, ut ne-
que sustinere se a lapsu possent nec, qui paulum titu-
bassent, hærere affixi vestigio suo, aliique super alios
et iumenta et homines succiderent.

But at length they reach the top of the pass and are encouraged by the thought that Italy is in view.

36 Ventum deinde ad multo angustiorem rupem atque
ita rectis saxis, ut ægre expeditus miles
tentabundus manibusque retinens virgulta
ac stirpes circa eminentes demittere sese

The descent is much steeper and the hardships greater,

posset. Natura locus iam ante præceps recenti lapsu 2
terræ in pedum mille admodum altitudinem abruptus
erat. Ibi quum velut ad finem viæ equites 3
constitissent, miranti Hannibali, quæ res
moraretur agmen, nuntiatur, rupem in-
viam esse. Digressus deinde ipse ad lo-

especially where the track had been carried away by a landslip and masses of ice were covered with fresh snow.

cum visendum. Haud dubia res visa, quin per invia 4
circa nec trita antea, quamvis longo ambitu, circum-
duceret agmen. Ea vero via insuperabilis fuit; nam 5
quum super veterem nivem intactam nova modicæ alti-
tudinis esset, molli nec præaltæ facile pedes ingredien-
tium insistebant; ut vero tot hominum iumentorumque 6
incessu dilapsa est, per nudam infra glaciem fluentem-
que tabem liquescentis nivis ingrediebantur. Tætra 7
ibi luctatio erat, [ut a] lubrica glacie non recipiente
vestigium et in prono citius pedes fallente, ut, seu
manibus in assurgendo seu genu se adiuvissent, ipsis
adminiculis prolapsis iterum corruerent; nec stirpes
circa radicesve, ad quas pede aut manu quisquam eniti
posset, erant; ita in levi tantum glacie tabidaque nive
volutabantur. Iumenta secabant interdum etiam in- 8
fimam ingredientia nivem, et prolapsa iactandis gravius
in connitendo ungulis penitus perfringebant, ut ple-
raque velut pedica capta hærerent in dura et alte con-
creta glacie. Tandem, nequicquam iumentis atque 37
hominibus fatigatis, castra in iugo posita,
ægerrime ad id ipsum loco purgato; tan-
tum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum
fuit. Inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam via 1

A road is cleared at length with the use of vinegar and fire.

esse poterat, milites ducti, quum cædendum esset sax-
um, arboribus circa immanibus deiectis detruncatisque
struem ingentem lignorum faciunt, eamque, quum et

vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succendunt,
3 ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt. Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt molliuntque anfractibus modicis clivos, ut non iumenta solum, sed ele-
4 phanti etiam deduci possent. Quatriduum circa rupem consumptum, iumentis prope fame absumptis; nuda enim fere cacumina sunt et, si quid est

and they reach the lower valleys that lead into the plains.

5 pabuli, obruunt nives. Inferiora valles apricosque etiam colles habent rivosque
6 *et* prope silvas et iam humano cultu digniora loca. Ibi iumenta in pabulum missa et quies muniendo fessis hominibus data. Triduo inde ad planum descensum, iam et locis mollioribus et accolarum ingeniis.

38 Hoc maxime modo in Italiam perventum est, quinto mense a Carthagine Nova, ut quidam auctores sunt, quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis.

The numbers of Hannibal's army

2 Quantæ copiæ transgresso in Italiam Hannibali fuerint, nequaquam inter auctores constat. Qui plurimum, centum millia peditum, viginti equitum fuisse scribunt; qui minimum, viginti millia peditum,
3 sex equitum. L. Cincius Alimentus, qui captum se ab Hannibale scribit, maxime *me* auctor moveret, nisi confunderet numerum Gallis Liguribusque additis;
4 cum his octoginta millia peditum, decem equitum adducta; (in Italia magis affluxisse veri simile est, et
5 ita quidam auctores sunt;) ex ipso autem audisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex millia hominum ingentemque numerum equorum et aliorum iumentorum amisisse. Taurini Semigalli proxima gens erat in Italiam degresso. Id

and the pass by which he crossed are matters of dispute

6 quum inter omnes constet, eo magis miror ambigi, quanam Alpes transierit, et

vulgo credere, Pœnino (atque inde nomen ei iugo Al-
pium inditum) transgressum, Cælium per Cremonis iu- 7
gum dicere transisse; qui ambo saltus eum non in
Taurinos, sed per alios montanos ad Libuos Gallos de-
duxissent. Nec veri simile est, ea tum ad Galliam 8
patuisse itinera; utique, quæ ad Pœninum ferunt, ob-
sæpta gentibus Semigermanis fuissent. Neque hercule 9
montibus his, si quem forte id movet, ab transitu
Pœnorum ullo Seduni Veragri, incolæ iugi eius, nomen
ferunt inditum, sed ab eo, quem in summo sacratum
vertice Pœninum montani appellant.

Peropportune ad principia rerum Taurinis, proximæ 39
genti, adversus Insubres motum bellum
erat. Sed armare exercitum Hannibal,

Hannibal rests to recruit his army,

ut parti alteri auxilio esset, in reficiendo maxime sen-
tientem contracta ante mala, non poterat; otium enim 2
ex labore, copia ex inopia, cultus ex illuvie tabeque
squalida et prope efferata corpora varie movebat. Ea 3
P. Cornelio consuli causa fuit, quum Pisas navibus
venisset, exercitu a Manlio Atilioque accepto tirone et
in novis ignominiis trepido, ad Padum festinandi, ut
cum hoste nondum refecto manus consereret. Sed quum 4
Placentiam consul venit, iam ex stativis
moverat Hannibal Taurinorumque unam
urbem, caput gentis eius, quia volentes in

then attacks the Taurini, and moves to meet Scipio,

amicitiam non veniebant, vi expugnarat: *et* iunxisset 5
sibi non metu solum, sed etiam voluntate Gallos accolas
Padi, ni eos circumspectantes defectionis tempus subito
adventu consul oppressisset. Et Hannibal movit ex 6
Taurinis, incertos, quæ pars sequenda esset, Gallos præ-
sentem secuturos esse ratus. Iam prope in conspectu 7
erant exercitus convenerantque duces sicuti inter se

8 nondum satis noti, ita iam imbutus uterque quadam admiratione alterius. Nam Hannibalis et apud Romanos iam ante Sagunti excidium celeberrimum nomen erat, et Scipionem Hannibal eo ipso, quod adversus se dux potissimum lectus esset, præstantem
9 virum credebat; et auxerant inter se opinionem, Scipio, quod, relictus in Gallia, obvius fuerat in Italiam transgresso Hannibali, *Hannibal* et conatu tam audaci traiiciendarum Alpium et effectu.
10 Occupavit tamen Scipio Padum traiicere, et ad Ticinum amnem motis castris, priusquam educeret in aciem, adhortandorum militum causa talem orationem est exorsus.

who had crossed the Po and encamped by the Ticinus.

40 "Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem, quem in Gallia mecum habui, supersedissem loqui apud vos; quid enim adhortari
2 referret aut eos equites, qui equitatum hostium ad Rhodanum flumen egregie vicissent, aut eas legiones, cum quibus fugientem hunc ipsum hostem secutus confessionem cedentis ac detrectantis certamen pro victoria habui?
3 Nunc quia ille exercitus, Hispaniæ provinciæ scriptus, ibi cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis auspiciis rem gerit, ubi eum gerere senatus populusque Romanus voluit,
4 ego, ut consulem ducem adversus Hannibalem ac Pœnos haberetis, ipse me huic voluntario certamini obtuli, novo imperatori apud novos milites pauca verba
5 facienda sunt. Ne genus belli neve hostem ignoretis, cum iis est vobis, milites, pugnandum, quos terra marique priore bello vicistis, a quibus stipendium per viginti annos exegistis, a quibus capta belli præmia Siciliam
6 ac Sardiniam habetis. Erit igitur in hoc certamine is

Scipio encourages his soldiers by dwelling on their superiority to the Carthaginians who had refused to fight in Gaul

vobis illisque animus, qui victoribus et victis esse solet. Nec nunc illi, quia audent, sed quia necesse est, 7
pugnaturi sunt; nisi creditis, qui exercitu incolumi pugnam detrectavere, eos, duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis, [quum plures pæne perierint quam supersint,] plus spei nactos esse.
At enim pauci quidem sunt, sed vigentes 8
animis corporibusque, quorum robora ac vires vix sustinere vis ulla possit. Ef- 9

and were worn out by hardships in the Alps,

figies immo, umbræ hominum, fame, frigore, illuvie, squalore enecti, contusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupesque; ad hoc præusti artus, nive rigentes nervi, membra torrida gelu, quassata fractaque arma, claudi ac debiles equi. Cum hoc equite, cum hoc pedite pug- 10
naturi estis; reliquias extremas hostium, non hostem habebitis; ac nihil magis vereor quam ne, quum vos pugnaveritis, Alpes vicisse Hannibalem videantur. Sed 11
ita forsitan decuit, cum fœderum ruptore duce ac populo deos ipsos sine ulla humana ope committere ac profligare bellum, nos, qui secundum deos violati sumus, commissum ac profligatum conficere. Non vereor, ne 41
quis me hæc vestri adhortandi causa magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo affectum esse. Licuit 2
in Hispaniam, provinciam meam, quo iam profectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et fratrem consilii participem ac periculi socium haberem et Hasdrubalem potius quam Hannibalem hostem et minorem haud dubie molem belli; tamen, quum præterveherer navi- 3
bus Galliæ oram, ad famam huius hostis in terram egressus, præmisso equitatu, ad Rhodanum movi castra. Equestri prœlio, qua parte copiarum conserendi ma- 4
num fortuna data est, hostem fudi; peditum agmen,

quod in modum fugientium raptim agebatur, quia as-
sequi terra non poteram, regressus ad naves, quanta
maxima potui celeritate, tanto maris terrarumque cir-
cuitu, in radicibus prope Alpium huic timendo hosti
5 obvius fui. Utrum, quum declinarem certamen, im-
provisus incidisse videor an occurrere in vestigiis eius,
6 lacessere ac trahere ad decernendum? Experiri iuvat,
utrum alios repente Carthaginienses per
viginti annos terra ediderit, an iidem sint,
qui ad Ægates pugnaverunt insulas et

(who had before humbly sued for the peace)

quos ab Eryce duodevicenis denariis æstimatos emi-
7 sistis, et utrum Hannibal hic sit æmulus itinerum Her-
culis, ut ipse fert, an vectigalis stipendiariusque et
8 servus populi Romani a patre relictus. Quem nisi
Saguntinum scelus agitaret, respiceret profecto, si non
patriam victam, domum certe patremque et fœdera
9 Hamilcaris scripta manu, qui iussus ab consule nostro
præsidium deduxit ab Eryce, qui graves impositas
victis Carthaginiensibus leges fremens mærensque ac-
cepit, qui decedere Sicilia, qui stipendium populo Ro-
10 mano dare pactus est. Itaque vos ego, milites, non eo
solum animo, quo adversus alios hostes soletis, pug-
nare velim, sed cum indignatione quadam atque ira,
velut si servos videatis vestros arma repente contra
11 vos ferentes. Licuit ad Erycem clausos ultimo sup-
plicio humanorum, fame interficere; licuit victricem
classem in Africam traiicere atque intra paucos dies
sine ullo certamine Carthaginem delere;
12 veniam dedimus precantibus, emisimus
ex obsidione, pacem cum victis fecimus,

(which they had broken so thanklessly by their unprovoked attack.)

tutelæ deinde nostræ duximus, quum Africo bello ur-
13 gerentur. Pro his impertitis furiosum iuvenem se-

quentes oppugnatum patriam nostram veniunt. Atque
utinam pro decore tantum hoc vobis et non pro salute
esset certamen! Non de possessione Siciliæ ac Sar- 14
diniæ, de quibus quondam agebatur, sed pro Italia
vobis est pugnandum. Nec est alius ab tergo exer- 15
citus, qui, nisi nos vincimus, hosti obsistat, nec Alpes
aliæ sunt, quas dum superant, comparari nova pos-
sint præsidia; hic est obstandum, milites, velut si
ante Romana mœnia pugnemus. Unusquisque se non 16
corpus suum, sed coniugem ac liberos parvos armis
protegere putet; nec domesticas solum agitet curas,
sed identidem hoc animo reputet, nostras nunc intueri
manus senatum populumque Romanum: qualis nostra 17
vis virtusque fuerit, talem deinde fortunam illius urbis
ac Romani imperii fore."

Hæc apud Romanos consul. Hannibal rebus prius 42
quam verbis adhortandos milites ratus, circumdato ad
spectaculum exercitu, captivos montanos
vinctos in medio statuit, armisque Gal-
licis ante pedes eorum proiectis, interro-
gare interpretem iussit, ecquis, si vinculis
levaretur armaque et equum victor acciperet, decertare
ferro vellet. Quum ad unum omnes ferrum pugnam- 2
que poscerent et deiecta in id sors esset, se quisque
eum optabat, quem fortuna in id certamen legeret, 3
et, *ut* cuiusque sors exciderat, alacer, inter gratulantes
gaudio exsultans, cum sui moris tripudiis arma raptim
capiebat. Ubi vero dimicarent, is habitus animorum 4
non inter eiusdem modo condicionis homines erat,
sed etiam inter spectantes vulgo, ut non vincentium
magis quam bene morientium fortuna laudaretur.
Quum sic aliquot spectatis paribus affectos dimi- 43

Hannibal lets his Gallic captives fight in single combat for the prize of freedom.

sisset, contione inde advocata ita apud eos locutus
fertur.

2 "Si, quem animum in alienæ sortis exemplo paulo
ante habuistis, eundem mox in æstimanda fortuna
vestra habueritis, vicimus, milites; neque
enim spectaculum modo illud, sed quæ-
dam veluti imago vestræ condicionis erat.

and tells his soldiers that their only chance of safety lies in victory,

3 Ac nescio, an maiora vincula maioresque
necessitates vobis quam captivis vestris fortuna cir-
4 cumdederit. Dextra lævaque duo maria claudunt,
nullam ne ad effugium quidem navem habentes; circa
Padus amnis, maior [Padus] ac violentior Rhodano,
ab tergo Alpes urgent, vix integris vobis ac vigentibus
5 transitæ. Hic vincendum aut moriendum, milites, est
ubi primum hosti occurristis. Et eadem fortuna, quæ
necessitatem pugnandi imposuit, præmia vobis ea vic-
toribus proponit, quibus ampliora homines ne ab diis
6 quidem immortalibus optare solent. Si Siciliam tan-
tum ac Sardiniam parentibus nostris ereptas nostra
virtute recuperaturi essemus, satis tamen ampla pre-
tia essent; quicquid Romani tot triumphis partum
congestumque possident, id omne vestrum cum ipsis
7 dominis futurum est; in hanc tam opimam mercedem,
8 agite dum, diis bene iuvantibus arma capite. Satis
adhuc in vastis Lusitaniæ Celtiberiæque montibus
pecora consectando nullum emolumentum tot laborum
9 periculorumque vestrorum vidistis; tempus est iam
opulenta vos ac ditia stipendia facere et magna operæ
pretia mereri, tantum itineris per tot montes flumina-
10 que et tot armatas gentes emensos. Hic vobis termi-
num laborum fortuna dedit; hic dignam

which would be glorious indeed

11 mercedem emeritis stipendiis dabit. Nec,

quam magni nominis bellum est, tam difficilem ex-
istimaritis victoriam fore; sæpe et contemptus hostis
cruentum certamen edidit et incliti populi regesque
perlevi momento victi sunt. Nam dempto hoc uno 12
fulgore nominis Romani, quid est, cur illi vobis
comparandi sint? Ut viginti annorum militiam ves- 13
tram cum illa virtute, cum illa fortuna
taceam, ab Herculis columnis, ab Oceano
terminisque ultimis terrarum per tot fero-
cissimos Hispaniæ et Galliæ populos vincentes huc
pervenistis; pugnabitis cum exercitu tirone, hac ipsa 14
æstate cæso, victo, circumsesso a Gallis, ignoto adhuc
duci suo ignorantique ducem. An me in prætorio 15
patris, clarissimi imperatoris, prope natum, certe educ-
tum, domitorem Hispaniæ Galliæque, victorem eundem
non Alpinarum modo gentium, sed ipsarum, quod
multo maius est, Alpium, cum semestri hoc conferam
duce, desertore exercitus sui? cui si quis demptis 16
signis Pœnos Romanosque hodie ostendat, ignoratu-
rum certum habeo, utrius exercitus sit consul. Non 17
ego illud parvi æstimo, milites, quod nemo est vestrum,
cuius non ante oculos ipse sæpe militare aliquod edi-
derim facinus, cui non idem ego virtutis spectator ac
testis notata temporibus locisque referre sua possim
decora. Cum laudatis a me millies donatisque, alum- 18
nus prius omnium vestrum quam imperator, procedam
in aciem adversus ignotos inter se ignorantesque.
Quocunque circumtuli oculos, plena omnia video ani- 44
morum ac roboris, veteranum peditem, generosissi-
marum gentium equites frenatos infrenatosque, vos 2
socios fidelissimos fortissimosque, vos, Carthaginienses,
quum *pro* patria, tum ob iram iustissimam pugnaturos.

and should be easy for an army and general such as theirs,

3 Inferimus bellum infestisque signis descendimus in
Italiam, tanto audacius fortiusque pugnaturi quam
hostis, quanto maior spes, maior est ani-
4 mus inferentis vim quam arcentis. Ac-
cendit præterea et stimulat animos dolor,
iniuria, indignitas. Ad supplicium depoposcerunt me
ducem primum, deinde vos omnes, qui Saguntum op-
pugnassetis; deditos ultimis cruciatibus affecturi fue-
5 runt. Crudelissima ac superbissima gens sua omnia
suique arbitrii facit; cum quibus bellum, cum quibus
pacem habeamus, se modum imponere æquum censet.
Circumscribit includitque nos terminis montium flumi-
numque, quos non excedamus, neque eos, quos statuit,
6 terminos observat. Ne transieris Hiberum; ne quid
rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis. At *non ad* Hiberum est
7 Saguntum. Nusquam te vestigio moveris. Parum
est, quod veterrimas provincias meas, Siciliam ac
Sardiniam, adimis? Etiam *in* Hispanias et, *si* inde
cessero, in Africam transcendes? *Transcendes* autem?
Transcendisse dico. Duos consules huius anni, unum
in Africam, alterum in Hispaniam miserunt. Nihil
usquam nobis relictum est, nisi quod armis vindica-
8 rimus. Illis timidis et ignavis esse licet, qui respec-
tum habent, quos sua terra, suus ager per tuta ac
pacata itinera fugientes accipient: vobis necesse est
fortibus viris esse et, omnibus inter victoriam mor-
temve certa desperatione abruptis, aut vincere aut, si
fortuna dubitabit, in prœlio potius quam in fuga mor-
9 tem oppetere. Si hoc bene fixum omnibus [destina-
tum] in animo est, iterum dicam, vicistis; nullum
contemptu *mortis telum* ad vincendum homini ab dis
immortalibus acrius datum est."

fired as they were by the memory of their past wrongs.

His adhortationibus quum utrinque ad certamen 45
accensi militum animi essent, Romani
ponte Ticinum iungunt, tutandique pon-
tis causa castellum insuper imponunt;

The Romans move across the Ticinus nearer to Hannibal,

Pœnus, hostibus opere occupatis, Maharbalem cum 2
ala Numidarum, equitibus quingentis, ad depopu-
landos sociorum populi Romani agros mittit; Gallis 3
parci quam maxime iubet, principumque animos ad
defectionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto traductus Ro-
manus exercitus in agrum Insubrium quinque millia
passuum ab Ictumulis consedit. Ibi Hannibal castra 4
habebat; revocatoque propere Maharbale atque equi-
tibus, quum instare certamen cerneret, nihil un-
quam satis dictum præmonitumque ad
cohortandos milites ratus, vocatis ad con-
tionem certa præmia pronuntiat, in quo-

who prepares for battle and makes liberal promises of bounty to his men.

rum spem pugnarent: agrum sese daturum esse 5
in Italia, Africa, Hispania, ubi quisque vellet im-
munem ipsi, qui accepisset, liberisque; qui pecu-
niam quam agrum maluisset, ei se argento satis-
facturum; qui sociorum cives Carthaginienses fieri 6
vellent, potestatem facturum; qui domos redire mal-
lent, daturum se operam, ne cuius suorum popularium
mutatam secum fortunam esse vellent. Servis quoque 7
dominos prosecutis libertatem proponit, binaque pro
iis mancipia dominis se redditurum. Eaque ut rata 8
scirent fore, agnum læva manu, dextera silicem reti-
nens, si falleret, Iovem ceterosque precatus deos, ita
se mactarent, quemadmodum ipse agnum mactasset,
secundum precationem caput pecudis saxo elisit. Tum 9
vero omnes, velut diis auctoribus in spem suam quis-
que acceptis, id moræ, quod nondum pugnarent, ad

potienda sperata rati, prœlium uno animo et voce una
poscunt.

46 Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat,
super cetera recentibus etiam territos

The Romans discouraged by the omens

2 prodigiis; nam et lupus intraverat castra
laniatisque obviis ipse intactus evaserat, et examen
3 apum in arbore prætorio imminente consederat. Qui-
bus procuratis, Scipio cum equitatu iaculatoribusque
expeditis profectus ad castra hostium ex propinquo
copias*que*, quantæ et cuius generis essent, speculandas,
obvius fit Hannibali et ipsi cum equitibus ad ex-
4 ploranda circà loca progresso. Neutri alteros primo
cernebant; densior deinde incessu tot hominum equo-
rum*que* oriens pulvis signum propinquantium hostium
fuit. Consistit utrumque agmen, et ad prœlium sese
5 expediebant. Scipio iaculatores et Gallos equites in
fronte locat, Romanos sociorumque quod roboris
fuit, in subsidiis. Hannibal frenatos equites in me-
6 dium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat. Vixdum clamore
sublato, iaculatores fugerunt inter subsidia ad secun-
dam aciem. Inde equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu
anceps; dein quia turbabant equos pedites intermixti,
multis labentibus ex equis aut desilientibus, ubi suos
premi circumventos vidissent, iam magna ex parte ad
pedes pugna venerat, donec Numidæ, qui in cornibus
erant, circumvecti paulum ab tergo se ostenderunt.
7 Is pavor perculit Romanos, auxitque pavorem con-
sulis vulnus periculumque, intercursu tum primum
8 pubescentis filii propulsatum. Hic erat
iuvenis, penes quem perfecti huiusce belli
laus est, Africanus ob egregiam victoriam

are worsted in a cavalry encounter in which Scipio is wounded,

9 de Hannibale Pœnisque appellatus. Fuga tamen

effusa iaculatorum maxime fuit, quos primos Numidæ invaserunt; alius confertus equitatus consulem in medium acceptum, non armis modo, sed etiam corporibus suis protegens, in castra nusquam trepide neque effuse cedendo reduxit. Servati consulis decus Cælius ad servum natione Ligurem delegat; malim equidem de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere auctores et fama obtinuit.

Hoc primum cum Hannibale prœlium fuit; quo 47
facile apparuit, [et] equitatu meliorem Pœnum esse,
et ob id campos patentes, quales sunt
inter Padum Alpesque, bello gerendo
Romanis aptos non esse. Itaque proxima nocte, iussis 2
militibus vasa silentio colligere, castra ab Ticino mota
festinatumque ad Padum est, ut ratibus, quibus iunx-
erat flumen, nondum resolutis sine tumultu atque
insectatione hostis copias traiiceret. Prius Placen- 3
tiam pervenere, quam satis sciret Hannibal ab Ticino
profectos; tamen ad sexcentos moratorum in citeriore
ripa Padi, segniter ratem solventes, cepit. Transire
pontem non potuit, ut extrema resoluta erant, tota
rate in secundam aquam labente. Cælius auctor est, 4
Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis peditibus flumen
extemplo tranasse, ipsum Hannibalem per superiora
Padi vada exercitum traduxisse, elephantis in ordinem
ad sustinendum impetum fluminis oppositis. Ea pe- 5
ritis amnis eius vix fidem fecerint; nam neque equites
armis equisque salvis tantam vim fluminis superasse
veri simile est, ut iam Hispanos omnes inflati tra-
vexerint utres, et multorum dierum circuitu Padi
vada petenda fuerunt, qua exercitus gravis impedi-
mentis traduci posset. Potiores apud me auctores 6

and retire towards Placentia.

sunt, qui biduo vix locum rate iungendo flumini in-
ventum tradunt; ea cum Magone equites Hispanorum
7 expeditos præmissos. Dum Hannibal, circa flumen
legationibus Gallorum audiendis moratus, traiicit gra-
vius peditum agmen, interim Mago equitesque ab
transitu fluminis diei unius itinere Placentiam ad
8 hostes contendunt. Hannibal paucis post
diebus sex millia a Placentia castra com-
munivit, et postero die in conspectu hostium acie di-
recta potestatem pugnæ fecit.

followed by Hannibal,

48 Insequenti nocte cædes in castris Romanis, tumultu
tamen quam re maior, ab auxiliaribus Gallis facta est.
2 Ad duo millia peditum et ducenti equites,
vigilibus ad portas trucidatis, ad Hanni-
balem transfugiunt; quos Pœnus benigne
allocutus et spe ingentium donorum ac-
censos in civitates quemque suas ad sollicitandos popu-
3 larium animos dimisit. Scipio cædem eam signum
defectionis omnium Gallorum esse ratus, contactosque
eo scelere velut iniecta rabie ad arma ituros, quan-
4 quam gravis adhuc vulnere erat, tamen quarta vigilia
noctis insequentis tacito agmine profectus, ad Trebiam
fluvium iam in loca altiora collesque impeditiores equiti
5 castra movet. Minus quam ad Ticinum fefellit; mis-
sisque Hannibal primum Numidis, deinde omni equi-
tatu, turbasset utique novissimum agmen, ni aviditate
prædæ in vacua Romana castra Numidæ devertissent.
6 Ibi dum perscrutantes loca omnia castrorum nullo
satis digno moræ pretio tempus terunt, emissus hostis
est de manibus; et quum iam transgressos Trebiam
Romanos metantesque castra conspexissent, paucos
7 moratorum occiderunt citra flumen interceptos. Scipio,

who secures by treachery the magazines at Clastidium while the Romans strengthen their camp on the Trebia.

nec vexationem vulneris in via iactati ultra patiens et collegam (iam enim et revocatum ex Sicilia audierat) ratus exspectandum, locum qui prope flumen tutissimus stativis est visus, delectum communiit. Nec procul 8
inde Hannibal quum consedisset, quantum victoria equestri elatus, tantum anxius inopia, quæ per hostium agros euntem, nusquam præparatis commeatibus, maior in dies excipiebat, ad Clastidium vicum, quo magnum frumenti numerum congesserant Romani, mittit. Ibi 9
quum vim pararent, spes facta proditionis; nec sane magno pretio, nummis aureis quadringentis, Dasio Brundisino præfecto præsidii corrupto, traditur Hannibali Clastidium. Id horreum fuit Pœnis sedentibus ad Trebiam. In captivos ex tradito præsidio, ut fama 10
clementiæ in principio rerum colligeretur, nihil sævitum est.

Quum ad Trebiam terrestre constitisset bellum, in- 49
terim circa Siciliam insulasque imminentes et a Sempronio consule et ante adventum eius terra marique res gestæ.

Meanwhile a Punic fleet sent to sweep the coast of Sicily

Viginti quinqueremes cum mille armatis ad depopu- 2
landam oram Italiæ a Carthaginiensibus missæ; novem Liparas, octo ad insulam Vulcani tenuerunt, tres in fretum avertit æstus. Ad eas conspectas a Messana 3
duodecim naves ab Hierone rege Syracusanorum missæ, qui tum forte Messanæ erat consulem Romanum opperiens, nullo repugnante captas naves Messanam in portum deduxerunt. Cognitum ex captivis, præter 4
viginti naves, cuius ipsi classis essent, in Italiam missas, quinque et triginta alias quinqueremes Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos veteres socios; Lilybæi occupandi præcipuam curam esse; credere, eadem tem- 5

pestate, qua ipsi disiecti forent, eam quoque classem
6 ad Ægates insulas deiectam. Hæc, sicut audita erant,
rex M. Æmilio prætori, cuius Sicilia provincia erat,
perscribit, monetque, ut Lilybæum firmo teneret præ-
7 sidio. Extemplo et a prætore circa civitates missi
legati tribunique, *qui* suos ad curam custodiæ inten-
8 derent, *et* ante omnia Lilybæum teneri apparatu belli,
edicto proposito, ut socii navales decem dierum cocta
cibaria ad naves deferrent, ut, ubi signum datum esset,
ne quid moram conscendendi faceret, perque omnem
oram, qui ex speculis prospicerent adventantem hostium
9 classem, missis. Itaque, quanquam de industria morati
cursum navium erant Carthaginiensis, ut ante lucem
accederent Lilybæum, præsensum tamen est, quia et
luna pernox erat et sublatis armamentis veniebant.
10 Extemplo *signum* datum e speculis et in oppido ad
arma conclamatum est et in naves conscensum; pars
militum in muris portarumque stationibus, pars in na-
11 vibus erant. Et Carthaginienses, quia rem fore haud
cum imparatis cernebant, usque ad lucem portu se ab-
stinuerunt, demendis armamentis eo tempore aptan-
12 daque ad pugnam classe absumpto. Ubi illuxit, re-
cepere classem in altum, ut spatium pugnæ esset
exitumque liberum e portu naves hostium haberent.
13 Nec Romani detrectavere pugnam, et memoria circa
ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum freti et militum multitu-
50 dine ac virtute. Ubi in altum evecti sunt, Romanus
is routed off Lilybæum.
conserere pugnam et ex propinquo vires
2 conferre velle; contra eludere Pœnus et
arte, non vi rem gerere, naviumque quam virorum aut
3 armorum malle certamen facere. Nam ut sociis na-
valibus affatim instructam classem, ita inopem milite

habebant, et, sicubi conserta navis esset, haudquaquam
par numerus armatorum ex ea pugnabat. Quod ubi 4
animadversum est, et Romanis multitudo sua auxit
animum et paucitas illis minuit. Extemplo septem 5
naves Punicæ circumventæ; fugam ceteræ ceperunt.
Mille et septingenti fuere in navibus captis milites
nautæque, in his tres nobiles Carthaginiensium. Classis 6
Romana incolumis, una tantum perforata navi, sed ea
quoque ipsa reduce, in portum rediit.

The consul Sempronius receives pledges of loyal help from king Hiero.

Secundum hanc pugnam, nondum gnaris eius, qui 7
Messanæ erant, Ti. Sempronius consul
Messanam venit. Ei fretum intranti
rex Hiero classem *instructam* orna-
tamque obviam duxit, transgressusque ex regia in 8
prætoriam navem, gratulatus sospitem cum exercitu
et navibus advenisse, precatusque prosperum ac felicem
in Siciliam transitum, statum deinde insulæ et Car- 9
thaginiensium conata exposuit, pollicitusque est, quo
animo priore bello populum Romanum iuvenis adiu-
visset, eo senem adiuturum; frumentum vestimentaque 10
sese legionibus consulis sociisque navalibus gratis præ-
biturum; grande periculum Lilybæo maritimisque civi-
tatibus esse, et quibusdam volentibus novas res fore.
Ob hæc consuli nihil cunctandum visum, quin Lily- 11
bæum classe peteret. Et rex regiaque classis una pro-
fecti. Navigantes inde, pugnatum ad Lilybæum fusas-
que et captas hostium naves, accepere. A Lilybæo 51
consul, Hierone cum classe regia dimisso relictoque
prætore ad tuendam Siciliæ oram, ipse in insulam Meli-
tam, quæ a Carthaginiensibus tenebatur, traiecit. Ad- 2
venienti Hamilcar Gisgonis filius, præfectus præsidii,
cum paulo minus duobus millibus militum oppidumque

cum insula traditur. Inde post paucos dies reditum
Lilybæum, captivique et a consule et a prætore, præter
3 insignes nobilitate viros, sub corona venierunt. Post-
quam ab ea parte satis tutam Siciliam censebat consul,
ad insulas Vulcani, quia fama erat stare ibi Punicam
classem, traiecit; nec quisquam hostium circa eas in-
4 sulas inventus; nam forte transmiserant ad vastandam
Italiæ oram, depopulatoque Viboniensi
5 agro, urbem etiam terrebant. Repetenti
Siciliam consuli escensio hostium in agrum
Viboniensem facta nuntiatur, litteræque
ab senatu de transitu in Italiam Hannibalis, et ut
primo quoque tempore collegæ ferret auxilium, missæ
6 traduntur. Multis simul anxius curis exercitum ex-
templo in naves impositum Ariminum mari supero
misit, Sex. Pomponio legato cum viginti quinque
longis navibus Viboniensem agrum maritimamque
7 oram Italiæ tuendam attribuit. M. Æmilio prætori
quinquaginta navium classem explevit. Ipse, com-
positis Siciliæ rebus, decem navibus oram Italiæ legens
Ariminum pervenit. Inde cum exercitu suo profectus
ad Trebiam flumen collegæ coniungitur.

but is recalled in haste to the seat of war in Italy while on the search for the cruisers of Carthage.

52 Iam ambo consules et quicquid Romanarum virium
erat, Hannibali oppositum, aut illis copiis defendi
posse Romanum imperium aut spem nul-
2 lam aliam esse, satis declarabat. Tamen
consul alter, equestri prœlio uno et vul-
nere suo †minutus, trahi rem malebat; recentis animi
alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patiebatur.
3 Quod inter Trebiam Padumque agri est, Galli tum
incolebant, in duorum præpotentium populorum cer-
tamine per ambiguum favorem haud dubie gratiam

He joins Scipio on the Trebia, and is urgent to check the ravages of Hannibal.

victoris spectantes. Id Romani, modo ne quid move- 4
rent, æquo satis, Pœnus periniquo animo ferebat, ab
Gallis accitum se venisse ad liberandos eos dictitans.
Ob eam iram, simul ut præda militem aleret, duo millia 5
peditum et mille equites, Numidas plerosque, mixtos
quosdam et Gallos, populari omnem deinceps agrum
usque ad Padi ripas iussit. Egentes ope Galli, quum 6
ad id dubios servassent animos, coacti ab auctoribus
iniuriæ ad vindices futuros declinant, legatisque ad
consules missis, auxilium Romanorum terræ ob nimiam
cultorum fidem in Romanos laboranti orant. Cornelio 7
nec causa nec tempus agendæ rei placebat, suspectaque
ei gens erat quum ob infida multa facinora, tum, ut
alia vetustate obsolevissent, ob recentem Boiorum
perfidiam; Sempronius contra continendis in fide sociis 8
maximum vinculum esse primos, qui eguissent ope,
defensos censebat. Collega cunctante, equitatum suum, 9
mille peditum iaculatoribus ferme admixtis, ad defen-
dendum Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam mittit. Sparsos 10
et incompositos, ad hoc graves præda plerosque quum
inopinato invasissent, ingentem terrorem cædemque
ac fugam usque ad castra stationesque hostium fecere;
unde multitudine effusa pulsi rursus subsidio suorum
prœlium restituere. Varia inde pugna sequentes *ce-* 11
*dentes*que quum ad extremum æquassent certamen,
maior tamen hostium *cædes*, *penes* Romanos fama vic-
toriæ fuit. Ceterum nemini omnium maior iustiorque 53
quam ipsi consuli videri; gaudio efferri,
qua parte copiarum alter consul victus
foret, ea se vicisse: restitutos ac refectos 2
militibus animos, nec quemquam esse
præter collegam, qui dilatam dimicationem vellet;

Emboldened by a slight advantage gained, he overbears the resistance of his colleague,

potienda sperata rati, prœlium uno animo et voce una
poscunt.

46 Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat,

The Romans discouraged by the omens

super cetera recentibus etiam territos
2 prodigiis; nam et lupus intraverat castra
laniatisque obviis ipse intactus evaserat, et examen
3 apum in arbore prætorio imminente consederat. Quibus procuratis, Scipio cum equitatu iaculatoribusque
expeditis profectus ad castra hostium ex propinquo
copias*que*, quantæ et cuius generis essent, speculandas,
obvius fit Hannibali et ipsi cum equitibus ad ex-
4 ploranda circa loca progresso. Neutri alteros primo
cernebant; densior deinde incessu tot hominum equorum*que* oriens pulvis signum propinquantium hostium
fuit. Consistit utrumque agmen, et ad prœlium sese
5 expediebant. Scipio iaculatores et Gallos equites in
fronte locat, Romanos sociorumque quod roboris
fuit, in subsidiis. Hannibal frenatos equites in me-
6 dium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat. Vixdum clamore
sublato, iaculatores fugerunt inter subsidia ad secundam aciem. Inde equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu
anceps; dein quia turbabant equos pedites intermixti,
multis labentibus ex equis aut desilientibus, ubi suos
premi circumventos vidissent, iam magna ex parte ad
pedes pugna venerat, donec Numidæ, qui in cornibus
erant, circumvecti paulum ab tergo se ostenderunt.
7 Is pavor perculit Romanos, auxitque pavorem consulis vulnus periculumque, intercursu tum primum

are worsted in a cavalry encounter in which Scipio is wounded,

8 pubescentis filii propulsatum. Hic erat
iuvenis, penes quem perfecti huiusce belli
laus est, Africanus ob egregiam victoriam
9 de Hannibale Pœnisque appellatus. Fuga tamen

effusa iaculatorum maxime fuit, quos primos Numidæ invaserunt; alius confertus equitatus consulem in medium acceptum, non armis modo, sed etiam corporibus suis protegens, in castra nusquam trepide neque effuse cedendo reduxit. Servati consulis decus 10
Cælius ad servum natione Ligurem delegat; malim equidem de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere auctores et fama obtinuit.

Hoc primum cum Hannibale prœlium fuit; quo 47
facile apparuit, [et] equitatu meliorem Pœnum esse, et ob id campos patentes, quales sunt inter Padum Alpesque, bello gerendo Romanis aptos non esse. Itaque proxima nocte, iussis 2
militibus vasa silentio colligere, castra ab Ticino mota festinatumque ad Padum est, ut ratibus, quibus iunxerat flumen, nondum resolutis sine tumultu atque insectatione hostis copias traiiceret. Prius Placen- 3
tiam pervenere, quam satis sciret Hannibal ab Ticino profectos; tamen ad sexcentos moratorum in citeriore ripa Padi, segniter ratem solventes, cepit. Transire pontem non potuit, ut extrema resoluta erant, tota rate in secundam aquam labente. Cælius auctor est, 4
Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis peditibus flumen extemplo tranasse, ipsum Hannibalem per superiora Padi vada exercitum traduxisse, elephantis in ordinem ad sustinendum impetum fluminis oppositis. Ea pe- 5
ritis amnis eius vix fidem fecerint; nam neque equites armis equisque salvis tantam vim fluminis superasse veri simile est, ut iam Hispanos omnes inflati travexerint utres, et multorum dierum circuitu Padi vada petenda fuerunt, qua exercitus gravis impedimentis traduci posset. Potiores apud me auctores 6

and retire towards Placentia,

sunt, qui biduo vix locum rate iungendo flumini in-
ventum tradunt; ea cum Magone equites Hispanorum
7 expeditos præmissos. Dum Hannibal, circa flumen
legationibus Gallorum audiendis moratus, traiicit gra-
vius peditum agmen, interim Mago equitesque ab
transitu fluminis diei unius itinere Placentiam ad
8 hostes contendunt. Hannibal paucis post
diebus sex millia a Placentia castra com-
munivit, et postero die in conspectu hostium acie di-
recta potestatem pugnæ fecit.

followed by Hannibal,

48 Insequenti nocte cædes in castris Romanis, tumultu
tamen quam re maior, ab auxiliaribus Gallis facta est.
2 Ad duo millia peditum et ducenti equites,
vigilibus ad portas trucidatis, ad Hanni-
balem transfugiunt; quos Pœnus benigne
allocutus et spe ingentium donorum ac-
censos in civitates quemque suas ad sollicitandos popu-
3 larium animos dimisit. Scipio cædem eam signum
defectionis omnium Gallorum esse ratus, contactosque
eo scelere velut iniecta rabie ad arma ituros, quan-
4 quam gravis adhuc vulnere erat, tamen quarta vigilia
noctis insequentis tacito agmine profectus, ad Trebiam
fluvium iam in loca altiora collesque impeditiores equiti
5 castra movet. Minus quam ad Ticinum fefellit; mis-
sisque Hannibal primum Numidis, deinde omni equi-
tatu, turbasset utique novissimum agmen, ni aviditate
prædæ in vacua Romana castra Numidæ devertissent.
6 Ibi dum perscrutantes loca omnia castrorum nullo
satis digno moræ pretio tempus terunt, emissus hostis
est de manibus; et quum iam transgressos Trebiam
Romanos metantesque castra conspexissent, paucos
7 moratorum occiderunt citra flumen interceptos. Scipio,

who secures by treachery the magazines at Clastidium while the Romans strengthen their camp on the Trebia.

nec vexationem vulneris in via iactati ultra patiens et
collegam (iam enim et revocatum ex Sicilia audierat)
ratus exspectandum, locum qui prope flumen tutissimus
stativis est visus, delectum communiit. Nec procul 8
inde Hannibal quum consedisset, quantum victoria
equestri elatus, tantum anxius inopia, quæ per hostium
agros euntem, nusquam præparatis commeatibus, maior
in dies excipiebat, ad Clastidium vicum, quo magnum
frumenti numerum congesserant Romani, mittit. Ibi 9
quum vim pararent, spes facta proditionis; nec sane
magno pretio, nummis aureis quadringentis, Dasio
Brundisino præfecto præsidii corrupto, traditur Han-
nibali Clastidium. Id horreum fuit Pœnis sedentibus
ad Trebiam. In captivos ex tradito præsidio, ut fama 10
clementiæ in principio rerum colligeretur, nihil sævi-
tum est.

Quum ad Trebiam terrestre constitisset bellum, in- 49
terim circa Siciliam insulasque imminen-
tes et a Sempronio consule et ante ad-
ventum eius terra marique res gestæ.

Meanwhile a Punic fleet sent to sweep the coast of Sicily

Viginti quinqueremes cum mille armatis ad depopu- 2
landam oram Italiæ a Carthaginiensibus missæ; novem
Liparas, octo ad insulam Vulcani tenuerunt, tres in
fretum avertit æstus. Ad eas conspectas a Messana 3
duodecim naves ab Hierone rege Syracusanorum missæ,
qui tum forte Messanæ erat consulem Romanum op-
periens, nullo repugnante captas naves Messanam in
portum deduxerunt. Cognitum ex captivis, præter 4
viginti naves, cuius ipsi classis essent, in Italiam mis-
sas, quinque et triginta alias quinqueremes Siciliam
petere ad sollicitandos veteres socios; Lilybæi occu-
pandi præcipuam curam esse; credere, eadem tem- 5

pestate, qua ipsi disiecti forent, eam quoque classem
6 ad Ægates insulas deiectam. Hæc, sicut audita erant,
rex M. Æmilio prætori, cuius Sicilia provincia erat,
perscribit, monetque, ut Lilybæum firmo teneret præ-
7 sidio. Extemplo et a prætore circa civitates missi
legati tribunique, *qui* suos ad curam custodiæ inten-
8 derent, *et* ante omnia Lilybæum teneri apparatu belli,
edicto proposito, ut socii navales decem dierum cocta
cibaria ad naves deferrent, ut, ubi signum datum esset,
ne quid moram conscendendi faceret, perque omnem
oram, qui ex speculis prospicerent adventantem hostium
9 classem, missis. Itaque, quanquam de industria morati
cursum navium erant Carthaginiensis, ut ante lucem
accederent Lilybæum, præsensum tamen est, quia et
luna pernox erat et sublatis armamentis veniebant.
10 Extemplo *signum* datum e speculis et in oppido ad
arma conclamatum est et in naves conscensum; pars
militum in muris portarumque stationibus, pars in na-
11 vibus erant. Et Carthaginienses, quia rem fore haud
cum imparatis cernebant, usque ad lucem portu se ab-
stinuerunt, demendis armamentis eo tempore aptan-
12 daque ad pugnam classe absumpto. Ubi illuxit, re-
cepere classem in altum, ut spatium pugnæ esset
exitumque liberum e portu naves hostium haberent.
13 Nec Romani detrectavere pugnam, et memoria circa
ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum freti et militum multitu-
50 dine ac virtute. Ubi in altum evecti sunt, Romanus

is routed off Lilybæum.

conserere pugnam et ex propinquo vires
2 conferre velle; contra eludere Pœnus et
arte, non vi rem gerere, naviumque quam virorum aut
3 armorum malle certamen facere. Nam ut sociis na-
valibus affatim instructam classem, ita inopem milite

habebant, et, sicubi conserta navis esset, haudquaquam
par numerus armatorum ex ea pugnabat. Quod ubi 4
animadversum est, et Romanis multitudo sua auxit
animum et paucitas illis minuit. Extemplo septem 5
naves Punicæ circumventæ; fugam ceteræ ceperunt.
Mille et septingenti fuere in navibus captis milites
nautæque, in his tres nobiles Carthaginiensium. Classis 6
Romana incolumis, una tantum perforata navi, sed ea
quoque ipsa reduce, in portum rediit.

Secundum hanc pugnam, nondum gnaris eius, qui 7
Messanæ erant, Ti. Sempronius consul
Messanam venit. Ei fretum intranti
rex Hiero classem *instructam* ornatamque obviam duxit, transgressusque ex regia in 8
prætoriam navem, gratulatus sospitem cum exercitu
et navibus advenisse, precatusque prosperum ac felicem
in Siciliam transitum, statum deinde insulæ et Car- 9
thaginiensium conata exposuit, pollicitusque est, quo
animo priore bello populum Romanum iuvenis adiu-
visset, eo senem adiuturum; frumentum vestimentaque 10
sese legionibus consulis sociisque navalibus gratis præ-
biturum; grande periculum Lilybæo maritimisque civi-
tatibus esse, et quibusdam volentibus novas res fore.
Ob hæc consuli nihil cunctandum visum, quin Lily- 11
bæum classe peteret. Et rex regiaque classis una pro-
fecti. Navigantes inde, pugnatum ad Lilybæum fusas-
que et captas hostium naves, accepere. A Lilybæo 51
consul, Hierone cum classe regia dimisso relictoque
prætore ad tuendam Siciliæ oram, ipse in insulam Meli-
tam, quæ a Carthaginiensibus tenebatur, traiecit. Ad- 2
venienti Hamilcar Gisgonis filius, præfectus præsidii,
cum paulo minus duobus millibus militum oppidumque

The consul Sempronius receives pledges of loyal help from king Hiero.

cum insula traditur. Inde post paucos dies reditum Lilybæum, captivique et a consule et a prætore, præter
3 insignes nobilitate viros, sub corona venierunt. Postquam ab ea parte satis tutam Siciliam censebat consul, ad insulas Vulcani, quia fama erat stare ibi Punicam classem, traiecit; nec quisquam hostium circa eas in-
4 sulas inventus; nam forte transmiserant ad vastandam Italiæ oram, depopulatoque Viboniensi
5 agro, urbem etiam terrebant. Repetenti Siciliam consuli escensio hostium in agrum Viboniensem facta nuntiatur, litteræque ab senatu de transitu in Italiam Hannibalis, et ut primo quoque tempore collegæ ferret auxilium, missæ
6 traduntur. Multis simul anxius curis exercitum extemplo in naves impositum Ariminum mari supero misit, Sex. Pomponio legato cum viginti quinque longis navibus Viboniensem agrum maritimamque
7 oram Italiæ tuendam attribuit. M. Æmilio prætori quinquaginta navium classem explevit. Ipse, compositis Siciliæ rebus, decem navibus oram Italiæ legens Ariminum pervenit. Inde cum exercitu suo profectus ad Trebiam flumen collegæ coniungitur.

but is recalled in haste to the seat of war in Italy while on the search for the cruisers of Carthage.

52 Iam ambo consules et quicquid Romanarum virium erat, Hannibali oppositum, aut illis copiis defendi posse Romanum imperium aut spem nul-
2 lam aliam esse, satis declarabat. Tamen consul alter, equestri prœlio uno et vulnere suo †minutus, trahi rem malebat; recentis animi alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patiebatur.
3 Quod inter Trebiam Padumque agri est, Galli tum incolebant, in duorum præpotentium populorum certamine per ambiguum favorem haud dubie gratiam

He joins Scipio on the Trebia, and is urgent to check the ravages of Hannibal.

victoris spectantes. Id Romani, modo ne quid move- 4
rent, æquo satis, Pœnus periniquo animo ferebat, ab
Gallis accitum se venisse ad liberandos eos dictitans.
Ob eam iram, simul ut præda militem aleret, duo millia 5
peditum et mille equites, Numidas plerosque, mixtos
quosdam et Gallos, populari omnem deinceps agrum
usque ad Padi ripas iussit. Egentes ope Galli, quum 6
ad id dubios servassent animos, coacti ab auctoribus
iniuriæ ad vindices futuros declinant, legatisque ad
consules missis, auxilium Romanorum terræ ob nimiam
cultorum fidem in Romanos laboranti orant. Cornelio 7
nec causa nec tempus agendæ rei placebat, suspectaque
ei gens erat quum ob infida multa facinora, tum, ut
alia vetustate obsolevissent, ob recentem Boiorum
perfidiam; Sempronius contra continendis in fide sociis 8
maximum vinculum esse primos, qui eguissent ope,
defensos censebat. Collega cunctante, equitatum suum, 9
mille peditum iaculatoribus ferme admixtis, ad defen-
dendum Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam mittit. Sparsos 10
et incompositos, ad hoc graves præda plerosque quum
inopinato invasissent, ingentem terrorem cædemque
ac fugam usque ad castra stationesque hostium fecere;
unde multitudine effusa pulsi rursus subsidio suorum
prœlium restituere. Varia inde pugna sequentes *ce-* 11
*dentes*que quum ad extremum æquassent certamen,
maior tamen hostium *cædes*, *penes* Romanos fama vic-
toriæ fuit. Ceterum nemini omnium maior iustiorque 53
quam ipsi consuli videri; gaudio efferri,
qua parte copiarum alter consul victus
foret, ea se vicisse: restitutos ac refectos 2
militibus animos, nec quemquam esse
præter collegam, qui dilatam dimicationem vellet;

Emboldened by a slight advantage gained, he overbears the resistance of his colleague.

eum, animo magis quam corpore ægrum, memoria
3 vulneris aciem ac tela horrere. Sed non esse cum
ægro senescendum. Quid enim ultra differri aut teri
tempus? quem tertium consulem, quem alium exer-
4 citum exspectari? Castra Carthaginiensium in Italia
ac prope in conspectu urbis esse. Non Siciliam ac
Sardiniam, victis ademptas, nec cis Hiberum His-
paniam peti, sed solo patrio terraque, in qua geniti
5 forent, pelli Romanos. "Quantum ingemiscant" in-
quit "patres nostri, circa mœnia Carthaginis bellare
soliti, si videant nos, progeniem suam, duos consules
consularesque exercitus, in media Italia paventes intra
castra, Pœnum, quod inter Alpes Appenninumque
6 agri sit, suæ dicionis fecisse?" Hæc assidens ægro
collegæ, hæc in prætorio prope contionabundus agere.
Stimulabat et tempus propinquum comitiorum, ne in
novos consules bellum differretur, et occasio in se unum
7 vertendæ gloriæ, dum æger collega erat. Itaque, ne-
quicquam dissentiente Cornelio, parari ad propinquum
certamen milites iubet.

and allows himself to be drawn into a general engagement by Hannibal,

Hannibal quum, quid optimum foret hosti, cerneret,
vix ullam spem habebat, temere atque
improvide quicquam consules acturos;
8 quum alterius ingenium, fama prius, de-
inde re cognitum, percitum ac ferox sciret esse, fe-
rociusque factum prospero cum prædatoribus suis cer-
tamine crederet, adesse gerendæ rei fortunam haud
9 diffidebat. Cuius ne quod prætermitteret tempus, sol-
licitus intentusque erat, dum tiro hostium miles esset,
dum meliorem ex ducibus inutilem vulnus faceret, dum
10 Gallorum animi vigerent, quorum ingentem multitu-
dinem sciebat segnius secuturam, quanto longius ab

domo traherentur. Quum ob hæc taliaque speraret 11
propinquum certamen et facere, si cessaretur, cuperet,
speculatoresque Galli, ad ea exploranda, quæ vellet,
tutiores, quia in utrisque castris militabant, paratos
pugnæ esse Romanos rettulissent, locum insidiis cir-
cumspectare Pœnus cœpit. Erat in medio rivus præ- 54
altis utrinque clausus ripis et circa obsitus
palustribus herbis et quibus inculta ferme
vestiuntur, virgultis vepribusque. Quem ubi equites
quoque tegendo satis latebrosum locum circumvectus
ipse oculis perlustravit, "Hic erit locus" Magoni fratri 2
ait, "quem teneas. Delige centenos viros ex omni
pedite atque equite, cum quibus ad me vigilia prima
venias; nunc corpora curare tempus est." Ita præ- 3
torium missum. Mox cum delectis Mago aderat. "Ro-
bora virorum cerno" inquit Hannibal; "sed uti
numero etiam, non animis modo valeatis, singulis
vobis novenos ex turmis manipulisque vestri similes
eligite. Mago locum monstrabit, quem insideatis;
hostem cæcum ad has belli artes habetis." Ita *cum* 4
mille equitibus Magone, mille peditibus dimisso, Han-
nibal prima luce Numidas equites transgressos Trebiam
flumen obequitare iubet hostium portis iaculandoque
in stationes elicere ad pugnam hostem, iniecto deinde
certamine, cedendo sensim citra flumen pertrahere.
Hæc mandata Numidis; ceteris ducibus 5
peditum equitumque præceptum, ut pran-
dere omnes iuberent, armatos deinde instratisque equis
signum exspectare.

who had prepared an ambush

and kept his soldiers under cover,

Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum 6
omnem equitatum, ferox ea parte virium, deinde sex
millia peditum, postremo omnes copias, a destinato

7 iam ante consilio avidus certaminis, eduxit. Erat
forte brumæ tempus et nivalis dies in locis Alpibus
Appenninoque interiectis, propinquitate
etiam fluminum ac paludum prægelidis.
while the Romans waded through the swollen Trebia in pursuit of his skirmishers,
8 Ad hoc raptim eductis hominibus at-
que equis, non capto ante cibo, non ope ulla ad ar-
cendum frigus adhibita, nihil caloris inerat, et quic-
quid auræ fluminis appropinquabant, afflabat acrior
9 frigoris vis. Ut vero refugientes Numidas insequen-
tes aquam ingressi sunt (et erat pectoribus tenus
aucta nocturno imbri), tum utique egressis rigere
omnibus corpora, ut vix armorum tenendorum po-
tentia essent, et simul lassitudine et, procedente iam
55 die, fame etiam deficere. Hannibalis interim miles,
ignibus ante tentoria factis oleoque per manipulos, ut
mollirent artus, misso et cibo per otium capto, ubi
transgressos flumen hostes nuntiatum est, alacer ani-
mis corporibusque arma capit atque in aciem procedit.
2 Baliares locat ante signa ac levem armaturam, octo
ferme millia hominum, dein graviorem armis peditem,
quod virium, quod roboris erat; in cornibus circum-
fudit decem millia equitum, et ab cornibus in utram-
3 que partem divisos elephantos statuit. Consul effuse
sequentes equites, quum ab resistentibus subito Nu-
midis incauti exciperentur, signo receptui dato revo-
4 catos circumdedit peditibus. Duodeviginti millia Ro-
mana erant, socium nominis Latini viginti, auxilia
præterea Cenomanorum; ea sola in fide manserat
5 Gallica gens. Iis copiis concursum est. Prœlium a
Baliaribus ortum est; quibus quum maiore robore
legiones obsisterent, diducta propere in cornua levis
armatura est, quæ res effecit, ut equitatus Romanus

extemplo urgeretur. Nam quum vix iam per se re- 6
sisterent decem millibus equitum quattuor millia et
fessi integris plerisque, obruti sunt insuper velut nube
iaculorum a Baliaribus coniecta. Ad hoc elephanti 7
eminentes ab extremis cornibus, equis maxime non
visu modo, sed odore insolito territis, fugam late facie-
bant. Pedestris pugna par animis magis quam viribus 8
erat, quas recentes Pœnus, paulo ante curatis corpo-
ribus, in prœlium attulerat; contra ieiuna fessaque
corpora Romanis et rigentia gelu torpe-
bant. Restitissent tamen animis, si cum
pedite solum foret pugnatum; sed et 9

till exhausted by hunger and cold and attacked on all sides

Baliares, pulso equite, iaculabantur in latera, et ele-
phanti iam in mediam peditum aciem sese tulerant,
et Mago Numidæque, simul latebras eorum improvida
præterlata acies est, exorti ab tergo ingentem tumul-
tum ac terrorem fecere. Tamen in tot circumstanti- 10
bus malis mansit aliquamdiu immota acies, maxime
præter spem omnium adversus elephantos. Eos ve- 11
lites ad *id* ipsum locati verutis coniectis et avertere
et insecuti aversos sub caudis, qua maxime molli cute
vulnera accipiunt, fodiebant. Trepidantesque *et* prope 56
iam in suos consternatos *e* media acie in extremam
ad sinistrum cornu adversus Gallos auxiliares agi
iussit Hannibal. Ibi extemplo haud dubiam fecere
fugam novusque additus terror Romanis, ut fusa
auxilia sua viderunt. Itaque quum iam in orbem 2
pugnarent decem millia ferme hominum,
quum alia evadere nequissent, media

they were routed with great slaughter.

Afrorum acie, qua Gallicis auxiliis firmata erat, cum
ingenti cæde hostium perrupere, et, quum neque in 3
castra reditus esset flumine interclusis neque præ

imbri satis decernere possent, qua suis opem ferrent,
4 Placentiam recto itinere perrexere. Plures deinde in omnes partes eruptiones factæ; et qui flumen petiere, aut gurgitibus absumpti sunt aut inter cunctationem
5 ingrediendi ab hostibus oppressi; qui passim per agros fuga sparsi erant, vestigia cedentis sequentes agminis Placentiam contendere; aliis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi flumen fecit, transgressique in castra per-
6 venerunt. Imber nive mixtus et intoleranda vis frigoris et homines multos et iumenta et elephantos
7 prope omnes absumpsit. Finis insequendi hostis Pœnis flumen Trebia fuit, et ita torpentes gelu in castra rediere, ut vix lætitiam victoriæ sentirent.
8 Itaque nocte insequenti, quum præsidium castrorum et quod reliquum *sauciorum* ex magna parte militum erat, ratibus Trebiam traiicerent, aut nihil sensere
9 obstrepente pluvia aut, quia iam moveri nequibant præ lassitudine ac vulneribus, sentire sese dissimularunt, quietisque Pœnis tacito agmine ab Scipione consule exercitus Placentiam est perductus, inde Pado traiectus Cremonam, ne duorum exercituum hibernis una colonia premeretur.

The survivors made their way to Placentia.

57 Romam tantus terror ex hac clade perlatus est, ut iam ad urbem Romanam crederent infestis signis hostem venturum, nec quicquam spei aut auxilii esse, quo a portis mœnibusque vim ar-
2 cerent: uno consule ad Ticinum victo, alterum ex Sicilia revocatum; duobus consulibus, duobus consularibus exercitibus victis, quos alios duces,
3 quas alias legiones esse, quæ arcessantur? Ita territis Sempronius consul advenit, ingenti periculo per ef-

Sempronius to Rome to hold the elections.

fusos passim ad prædandum hostium equites audacia magis quam consilio aut spe fallendi resistendive, si non falleret, transgressus. Id quod unum maxime in 4
præsentia desiderabatur, comitiis consularibus habitis, in hiberna rediit. Creati consules Cn. Servilius et C. Flaminius.

Ceterum ne hiberna quidem Romanis quieta erant, 5
vagantibus passim Numidis equitibus et, *ut* quæque iis impeditiora erant, Celtiberis Lusitanisque. Omnes igitur undique clausi commeatus erant, nisi quos Pado naves subveherent. Em- 6
porium prope Placentiam fuit et opere magno munitum et valido firmatum præsidio. Eius castelli expugnandi spe cum equitibus ac levi armatura profectus Hannibal, quum plurimum in celando incepto ad effectum spei habuisset, nocte adortus non fefellit vigiles. Tantus re- 7
pente clamor est sublatus, ut Placentiæ quoque audiretur. Itaque sub lucem cum equitatu consul aderat, iussis quadrato agmine legionibus sequi. Equestre 8
interim prœlium commissum, in quo, quia saucius Hannibal pugna excessit, pavore hostibus iniecto, defensum egregie præsidium est. Paucorum inde dierum 9
quiete sumpta et vixdum satis percurato vulnere, ad Victumvias oppugnandas ire pergit. Id emporium 10
Romanis Gallico bello fuerat; munitum inde locum frequentaverant accolæ mixti undique ex finitimis populis, et tum terror populationum eo plerosque ex agris compulerat. Huius generis multitudo, fama impigre defensi ad 11
Placentiam præsidii accensa, armis arreptis obviam Hannibali procedit. Magis agmina quam acies in 12

Hannibal scoured the country with his cavalry,

was beaten off from Emporium,

but forced Victumviæ to surrender, after making havoc of its inhabitants.

via concurrerunt, et quum ex altera parte nihil præ-
ter inconditam turbam esset, in altera et dux militi
et duci miles fidens, ad triginta quinque millia homi-
13 num a paucis fusa. Postero die deditione facta præ-
sidium intra mœnia accepere; iussique arma tradere
quum dicto paruissent, signum repente victoribus
14 datur, ut tamquam vi captam urbem diriperent, ne-
que ulla, quæ in tali re memorabilis scribentibus
videri solet, prætermissa clades est; adeo omnis libi-
dinis crudelitatisque et inhumanæ superbiæ editum
in miseros exemplum est. Hæ fuere hibernæ expe-
ditiones Hannibalis.

58 Haud longi inde temporis, dum intolerabilia fri-
2 gora erant, quies militi data est, et ad
prima ac dubia signa veris profectus ex
hibernis in Etruriam ducit, eam quoque
gentem, sicut Gallos Liguresque, aut vi aut volun-
3 tate adiuncturus. Transeuntem Appenninum adeo
atrox adorta tempestas est, ut Alpium prope fœdi-
tatem superaverit. Vento mixtus imber quum fer-
retur in ipsa ora, primo, quia aut arma omit-
tenda erant aut contra enitentes vertice intorti
4 affligebantur, constitere; dein quum iam spiritum
includeret nec reciprocare animam sineret, aversi a
5 vento parumper consedere. Tum vero ingenti sono
cælum strepere et inter horrendos fragores micare
6 ignes; capti auribus et oculis metu omnes torpere;
tandem effuso imbre, quum eo magis accensa vis venti
esset, ipso illo, quo deprensi erant, loco castra ponere
7 necessarium visum est. Id vero laboris velut de in-
tegro initium fuit; nam nec explicare quicquam nec
statuere poterant nec, quod statutum esset, manebat,

He tried to cross the Apennines into Etruria, but was driven back by stress of weather.

omnia perscindente vento et rapiente. Et mox aqua 8
levata vento quum super gelida montium iuga concreta
esset, tantum nivosæ grandinis deiecit, ut omnibus
omissis procumberent homines, tegminibus suis magis
obruti quam tecti; tantaque vis frigoris insecuta est, 9
ut ex illa miserabili hominum iumentorumque strage
quum se quisque extollere ac levare vellet, diu nequi-
ret, quia torpentibus rigore nervis, vix flectere artus
poterant. Deinde, ut tandem agitando sese movere 10
ac recipere animos et raris locis ignis fieri est cœptus,
ad alienam opem quisque inops tendere. Biduum eo 11
loco velut obsessi mansere; multi homines, multa
iumenta, elephanti quoque ex iis, qui prœlio ad Tre-
biam facto superfuerant, septem absumpti.

Returning towards Placentia he had an indecisive encounter with Sempronius.

Degressus Appennino retro ad Placentiam castra 59
movit, et ad decem millia progressus
consedit. Postero die duodecim millia
peditum, quinque equitum adversus hos-
tem ducit; nec Sempronius consul (iam enim re- 2
dierat ab Roma) detrectavit certamen. Atque eo
die tria millia passuum inter bina castra fuere; pos- 3
tero die ingentibus animis, vario eventu pugnatum est.
Primo concursu adeo res Romana superior fuit, ut
non acie vincerent solum, sed pulsos hostes in castra
persequerentur, mox castra quoque oppugnarent. Han- 4
nibal, paucis propugnatoribus in vallo portisque posi-
tis, ceteros confertos in media castra recepit, inten-
tosque signum ad erumpendum exspectare iubet. Iam 5
nona ferme diei hora erat, quum Romanus, nequic-
quam fatigato milite, postquam nulla spes erat potiundi
castris, signum receptui dedit. Quod ubi Hannibal 6
accepit laxatamque pugnam et recessum a castris vidit,

extemplo equitibus dextra lævaque emissis in hostem,
7 ipse cum peditum robore mediis castris erupit. Pugna raro magis ulla aut utriusque partis pernicie clarior fuisset, si extendi eam dies in longum spatium sivisset;
8 nox accensum ingentibus animis prœlium diremit. Itaque acrior concursus fuit quam cædes, et, sicut æquata ferme pugna erat, ita clade pari discessum est. Ab neutra parte sexcentis plus peditibus et dimidium eius
9 equitum cecidit; sed maior Romanis quam pro numero iactura fuit, quia equestris ordinis aliquot et tribuni militum quinque et præfecti sociorum tres sunt
10 interfecti. Secundum eam pugnam Hannibal in Ligures, Sempronius Lucam concessit. Venienti in Ligures Hannibali per insidias intercepti duo quæstores Romani, C. Fulvius et L. Lucretius, cum duobus tribunis militum et quinque equestris ordinis, senatorum ferme liberis, quo magis ratam fore cum iis pacem societatemque crederet, traduntur.

after which both sides retired to winter quarters.

60 Dum hæc in Italia geruntur, Cn. Cornelius Scipio in Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu missus, quum ab ostio Rhodani profectus
2 Pyrenæosque montes circumvectus Em-
3 poriis appulisset classem, exposito ibi exercitu, orsus a Læetanis omnem oram usque ad Hiberum flumen partim renovandis societatibus, partim novis instituendis
4 Romanæ dicionis fecit. Inde conciliata clementiæ fama non ad maritimos modo populos, sed in mediterraneis quoque ac montanis ad ferociores iam gentes valuit; nec pax modo apud eos, sed societas etiam armorum parta est, validæque aliquot auxiliorum co-
5 hortes ex iis conscriptæ sunt. Hannonis cis Hiberum

Cn. Scipio meantime won over the Spanish tribes by his policy,

provincia erat; eum reliquerat Hannibal ad regionis
eius præsidium. Itaque, priusquam alienarentur om-
nia, obviam eundum ratus, castris in conspectu hos-
tium positis, in aciem eduxit. Nec Romano differen- 6
dum certamen visum, quippe qui sciret, cum Hannone
et Hasdrubale sibi dimicandum esse, malletque ad-
versus singulos separatim quam adversus duos simul
rem gerere. Nec magni certaminis ea dimicatio fuit. 7
Sex millia hostium cæsa, duo capta cum
præsidio castrorum; nam et castra ex-

and defeated Hanno in drawn battle.

pugnata sunt, atque ipse dux cum aliquot principibus
capiuntur, et Cissis, propinquum castris oppidum, ex-
pugnatur. Ceterum præda oppidi parvi pretii rerum 8
fuit, supellex barbarica ac vilium mancipiorum; castra 9
militem ditavere, non eius modo exercitus, qui victus
erat, sed et eius, qui cum Hannibale in Italia milita-
bat, omnibus fere caris rebus, ne gravia impedimenta
ferentibus essent, citra Pyrenæum relictis.

Priusquam certa huius cladis fama accideret, trans- 61
gressus Hiberum Hasdrubal cum octo
millibus peditum, mille equitum, tanquam
ad primum adventum Romanorum occur-

Hasdrubal comes up too late, and retires again after cutting off the stragglers,

surus, postquam perditas res ad Cissim amissaque
castra accepit, iter ad mare convertit. Haud pro- 2
cul Tarracone classicos milites navalesque socios va-
gos palantesque per agros, quod ferme fit, ut secundæ
res negligentiam creent, equite passim dimisso cum
magna cæde, maiore fuga ad naves compellit; nec diu- 3
tius circa ea loca morari ausus, ne ab Scipione oppri-
meretur, trans Hiberum sese recepit. Et Scipio raptim 4
ad famam novorum hostium agmine acto, quum in
paucos præfectos navium animadvertisset, præsidio

Tarracone modico relicto, Emporias cum classe rediit.
5 Vixdum digresso eo, Hasdrubal aderat, et Ilergetum

and rousing the Ilergetes to revolt,

populo, qui obsides Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem impulso, cum eorum ipsorum iuventute agros fidelium Romanis sociorum vastat.
6 Excito deinde Scipione hibernis, toto cis Hiberum rursus cedit agro. Scipio relictam ab auctore defectionis Ilergetum gentem quum infesto exercitu invasisset, compulsis omnibus Atanagrum, urbem, quæ caput eius
7 populi erat, circumsedit, intraque dies paucos, pluribus quam ante obsidibus imperatis, Ilergetes pecunia etiam
8 multatos in ius dicionemque recepit. Inde in Ausetanos

but Scipio reduces them to submission as well as the Ausetani and Lætani.

prope Hiberum, socios et ipsos Pœnorum procedit, atque urbe eorum obsessa, Lætanos auxilium finitimis ferentes nocte, haud procul iam urbe, quum intrare vellent,
9 excepit insidiis. Cæsa ad duodecim millia; exuti prope omnes armis domos passim palantes per agros diffugere; nec obsessos alia ulla res quam iniqua op-
10 pugnantibus hiems tutabatur. Triginta dies obsidio fuit, per quos raro unquam nix minus quattuor pedes alta iacuit, adeoque pluteos ac vineas Romanorum operuerat, ut ea sola, ignibus aliquoties coniectis ab
11 hoste, etiam tutamentum fuerit. Postremo quum Amusicus princeps eorum ad Hasdrubalem profugisset, viginti argenti talentis pacti deduntur. Tarraconem in hiberna reditum est.

62 Romæ aut circa urbem multa ea hieme prodigia

At Rome the numerous portents called for ceremonies of unusual solemnity.

facta aut, quod evenire solet motis semel in religionem animis, multa nuntiata
2 et temere credita sunt, in quis, ingenuum infantem semestrem in foro olitorio trium-

phum clamasse, et *in* foro boario bovem in tertiam 3
contignationem sua sponte escendisse atque inde tu-
multu habitatorum territum sese deiecisse, et navium
speciem de cælo affulsisse, et ædem Spei, quæ est in 4
foro olitorio, fulmine ictam, et Lanuvii hastam se com-
movisse et corvum in ædem Iunonis devolasse atque
in ipso pulvinari consedisse, et in agro Amiternino 5
multis locis hominum specie procul candida veste visos
nec cum ullo congressos, et in Piceno lapidibus plu-
visse, et Cære sortes extenuatas, et in Gallia lupum
vigili gladium ex vagina raptum abstulisse. Ob cetera 6
prodigia libros adire decemviri iussi; quod autem lapi-
dibus pluvisset in Piceno, novendiale sacrum edictum
et subinde aliis procurandis prope tota civitas operata
fuit. Nam primum omnium urbs lustrata est hostiæ- 7
que maiores, quibus editum est, diis cæsæ, et donum 8
ex auri pondo quadraginta Lanuvium Iunoni portatum
est et signum aeneum matronæ Iunoni in Aventino
dedicaverunt, et lectisternium Cære, ubi sortes attenu-
atæ erant, imperatum, et supplicatio Fortunæ in Al-
gido; Romæ quoque et lectisternium iuventuti et 9
supplicatio ad ædem Herculis nominatim, deinde uni-
verso populo circa omnia pulvinaria indicta, et Genio
maiores hostiæ cæsæ quinque, et C. Atilius Serranus 10
prætor vota suscipere iussus, si in decem annos res
publica eodem stetisset statu. Hæc procurata votaque 11
ex libris Sibyllinis magna ex parte levaverant religione
animos.

Consulum designatorum alter Flaminius, cui eæ 63
legiones, quæ Placentiæ hibernabant, sorte
evenerant, edictum et litteras ad consu-
lem misit, ut is exercitus idibus Martiis

Flaminius the consul designate who was peculiarly obnoxious to the patricians,

2 Arimini adesset in castris. Hic in provincia consulatum inire consilium erat memori veterum certaminum cum patribus, quæ tribunus plebis et quæ
3 postea consul prius de consulatu, qui abrogabatur, dein de triumpho habuerat, invisus etiam patribus ob novam legem, quam Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adverso senatu atque uno patrum adiuvante C. Flaminio tulerat, ne quis senator, cuive senator pater fuisset, maritimam navem, quæ plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset,
4 haberet. Id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos; quæstus omnis patribus indecorus visus. Res per summam contentionem acta invidiam apud nobilitatem suasori legis Flaminio, favorem apud plebem
5 alterumque inde consulatum peperit. Ob hæc ratus, auspiciis ementiendis Latinarumque feriarum mora et consularibus aliis impedimentis retenturos se in urbe simulato
6 itinere privatus clam in provinciam abiit. Ea res ubi palam facta est, novam insuper iram infestis iam ante patribus movit: non cum senatu modo, sed iam cum diis immortalibus C. Flaminium bellum gerere.
7 Consulem ante inauspicato factum revocantibus ex ipsa acie diis atque hominibus non paruisse; nunc conscientia spretorum et Capitolium et sollemnem voto-
8 rum nuncupationem fugisse, ne die initi magistratus Iovis optimi maximi templum adiret, ne senatum invisus ipse et sibi uni invisum videret consuleretque, ne Latinas indiceret Iovique Latiari sollemne sacrum
9 in monte faceret, ne auspicato profectus in Capitolium ad vota nuncupanda, paludatus inde cum lictoribus in provinciam iret. Lixæ modo sine insignibus, sine lictoribus profectum clam, furtim, haud aliter quam si

left Rome before he formally entered upon office to escape possible intrigues.

exilii causa solum vertisset. Magis pro maiestate vi- 10
delicet imperii Arimini quam Romæ magistratum initurum et in deversorio hospitali quam apud penates suos prætextam sumpturum. Revocan- 11
dum universi retrahendumque censuerunt et cogendum omnibus prius præsentem in deos hominesque fungi officiis, quam ad exercitum et in provinciam iret. In eam legationem (legatos 12
enim mitti placuit) Q. Terentius et M. Antistius profecti nihilo magis eum moverunt, quam priore consulatu litteræ moverant ab senatu missæ. Paucos post 13
dies magistratum iniit, immolantique ei vitulus iam ictus e manibus sacrificantium sese quum proripuisset, multos circumstantes cruore respersit; fuga procul 14
etiam maior apud ignaros, quid trepidaretur, et concursatio fuit. Id a plerisque in omen magni terroris acceptum. Legionibus inde duabus a Sempronio prioris 15
anni consule, duabus a C. Atilio prætore acceptis, in Etruriam per Appennini tramites exercitus duci est cœptus.

The indignant senate try to recall him but without success.

Finished Nov 17th
1882
Finished Nov 15th
1890 -

LIBER XXII.

Hannibal moved early from his winter quarters where he had been harassed by plots of the Gauls.

IAM ver appetebat; itaque Hannibal ex hibernis movit, et nequicquam ante conatus transcendere Appenninum intolerandis frigoribus et cum ingenti periculo moratus ac
2 metu. Galli, quos prædæ populationumque conciverat spes, postquam pro eo, ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse premique utriusque partis exercituum hibernis videre,
3 verterunt retro in Hannibalem ab Romanis odia; petitusque sæpe principum insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude, eadem levitate, qua consenserant, consensum indicantium, servatus erat, et mutando nunc vestem, nunc tegumenta capitis, errore etiam sese ab insidiis mun-
4 ierat. Ceterum hic quoque ei timor causa fuit maturius movendi ex hibernis.

At Rome men's minds were excited by the ominous self-assertion of Flaminius,

Per idem tempus Cn. Servilius consul Romæ idibus
5 Martiis magistratum iniit. Ibi quum de re publica rettulisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium invidia est: duos se consules creasse, unum habere; quod enim illi iustum
6 imperium, quod auspicium esse? Magistratus id a domo, publicis privatisque penatibus, Latinis feriis actis, sacrificio in monte perfecto, votis rite in Capi-
7 tolio nuncupatis, secum ferre; nec privatum auspicia

sequi, nec sine auspiciis profectum in externo ea solo
nova atque integra concipere posse. Augebant metum 8
prodigia ex pluribus simul locis nuntiata; in Sicilia
militibus aliquot spicula, in Sardinia autem in muro
circumeunti vigilias equiti scipionem,
quem manu tenuerat, arsisse, et litora

and by the repeated portents

crebris ignibus fulsisse, et scuta duo sanguine sudasse, 9
et milites quosdam ictos fulminibus, et solis orbem
minui visum, et Præneste ardentes lapides cælo cecidisse, et Arpis parmas in cælo visas pugnantemque
cum luna solem, et Capenæ duas interdiu lunas ortas, 10
et aquas Cæretes sanguine mixtas fluxisse fontemque
ipsum Herculis cruentis manasse respersum maculis,
et Antii metentibus cruentas in corbem spicas cecidisse, et Faleriis cælum findi velut magno hiatu visum, 11
quaque patuerit, ingens lumen effulsisse; sortes sua
sponte attenuatas, unamque excidisse ita scriptam:
"Mavors telum suum concutit," et per idem tempus 12
Romæ signum Martis Appia via ac simulacra luporum
sudasse, et Capuæ speciem cæli ardentis fuisse lunæque
inter imbrem cadentis. Inde minoribus etiam dictu 13
prodigiis fides habita: capras lanatas quibusdam factas,
et gallinam in marem, gallum in feminam sese vertisse. His, sicut erant nun- 14

which were met by great religious functions.

tiata, expositis auctoribusque in curiam introductis, consul de religione patres consuluit. Decretum, 15
ut ea prodigia partim maioribus hostiis, partim lactentibus procurarentur, et uti supplicatio per triduum
ad omnia pulvinaria haberetur; cetera, quum decem- 16
viri libros inspexissent, ut ita fierent, quemadmodum
cordi esse divis *e* carminibus profarentur. Decemvi- 17
rorum monitu decretum est, Iovi primum donum ful-

men aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret, *et* Iunoni Minervæque ex argento dona darentur, et Iunoni reginæ in Aventino Iunonique Sospitæ Lanuvii maioribus hostiis sacrificaretur, matronæque pecunia col-
18 lata, quantum conferre cuique commodum esset, donum Iunoni reginæ in Aventinum ferrent, lectisterniumque fieret, et ut libertinæ et ipsæ, unde Feroniæ donum daretur, pecuniam pro facultatibus suis conferrent.
19 Hæc ubi facta, decemviri Ardeæ in foro maioribus hostiis sacrificarunt. Postremo Decembri iam mense ad ædem Saturni Romæ immolatum est, lectisterniumque imperatum ([et] eum lectum senatores straverunt) et
20 convivium publicum, ac per urbem Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamata, populusque eum diem festum habere ac servare in perpetuum iussus.

2 Dum consul placandis Romæ dis habendoque dilectu dat operam, Hannibal profectus ex hibernis, quia iam Flaminium consulem Arretium pervenisse fama erat,

Hannibal makes his way with great difficulty through the marshes of the Arno,

2 quum aliud longius, ceterum commodius ostenderetur iter, propiorem viam per paludem petit, quo fluvius Arnus per eos dies solito magis inundaverat.
3 Hispanos et Afros (id omne veterani erat robur exercitus) admixtis ipsorum impedimentis, necubi consistere coactis necessaria ad usus deessent, primos ire iussit; sequi Gallos, ut id agminis medium esset; no-
4 vissimos ire equites; Magonem inde cum expeditis Numidis cogere agmen, maxime Gallos, si tædio laboris longæque viæ, ut est mollis ad talia gens, dilaberentur
5 aut subsisterent, cohibentem. Primi, qua modo præirent duces, per præaltas fluvii ac profundas voragines, hausti pæne limo immergentesque se, tamen signa se-

quebantur. Galli neque sustinere se prolapsi neque 6
assurgere ex voraginibus poterant, *nec* aut corpora
animis aut animos spe sustinebant, alii fessa ægre 7
trahentes membra, alii, ubi semel victis tædio animis
procubuissent, inter iumenta et ipsa iacentia passim
morientes; maximeque omnium vigiliæ conficiebant
per quatriduum iam et tres noctes toleratæ. Quum, 8
omnia obtinentibus aquis, nihil, ubi in sicco fessa
sternerent corpora, inveniri posset, cumulatis in aqua
sarcinis insuper incumbebant, *aut* iumentorum itinere 9
toto prostratorum passim acervi tantum, quod exstaret
aqua, quærentibus ad quietem parvi temporis neces-
sarium cubile dabant. Ipse Hannibal æger oculis ex 10
verna primum intemperie variante calores frigoraque,
elephanto, qui unus superfuerat, quo altius ab aqua
exstaret, vectus, vigiliis tamen et nocturno humore 11
palustrique cælo gravante caput, et quia medendi nec
locus nec tempus erat, altero oculo capitur.

3 Multis hominibus iumentisque fœde amissis quum
tandem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco potuit, castra locat, certumque per præmissos exploratores habuit, exercitum Romanum circa Arretii mœnia esse. Consulis 2
deinde consilia atque animum et situm regionum
itineraque et copias ad commeatus expediendos et cetera, quæ cognosse in rem erat, summa omnia cum cura inquirendo
exsequebatur. Regio erat in primis Italiæ fertilis, 3
Etrusci campi, qui Fæsulas inter Arretiumque iacent,
frumenti ac pecoris et omnium copia rerum opulenti;
consul ferox ab consulatu priore et non modo legum 4
aut patrum maiestatis, sed ne deorum quidem satis

and after great loss of men and beasts

marched southward to draw Flaminius after him from Arretium,

metuens; hanc insitam ingenio eius temeritatem for-
tuna prospero civilibus bellicisque rebus successu alue-
5 rat. Itaque satis apparebat, nec deos nec homines
consulentem ferociter omnia ac præpropere acturum;
6 quoque pronior esset in vitia sua, agitare eum atque
irritare Pœnus parat, et læva relicto hoste Fæsulas
petens, medio Etruriæ agro prædatum profectus, quan-
tam maximam vastitatem potest, cædibus incendiisque
7 consuli procul ostendit. Flaminius, qui ne quieto qui-
dem hoste ipse quieturus erat, tum vero, postquam res
sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit,
suum id dedecus ratus, per mediam iam Italiam vagari
who disregarding Pœnum atque obsistente nullo ad ipsa
8 prudent counsels Romana mœnia ire oppugnanda, ceteris
omnibus in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa
suadentibus: collegam exspectandum, ut coniunctis
exercitibus, communi animo consilioque rem gererent,
9 interim equitatu auxiliisque levium armorum ab effusa
prædandi licentia hostem cohibendum, iratus se ex con-
silio proripuit, signumque simul itineris pugnæque
10 quum *proposuisset*, "Immo Arretii ante mœnia sedea-
mus" inquit; "hic enim patria et penates sunt. Han-
nibal emissus e manibus perpopuletur Italiam vastan-
doque et urendo omnia ad Romana mœnia perveniat,
nec ante nos hinc moverimus, quam, sicut olim Ca-
millum ab Veiis, C. Flaminium ab Arretio patres acci-
11 verint." Hæc simul increpans quum ocius signa
convelli iuberet et ipse in equum insiluisset, equus
repente corruit consulemque lapsum super caput effudit.
12 and unfavourable signs, Territis omnibus, qui circa erant, velut
fœdo omine incipiendæ rei, insuper nun-
tiatur, signum omni vi moliente signifero convelli ne-

quire. Conversus ad nuntium "Num litteras quoque" 13
inquit "ab senatu affers, quæ me rem gerere vetent?
Abi, nuntia, effodiant signum, si ad convellendum
manus præ metu obtorpuerunt." Incedere 14
inde agmen cœpit, primoribus, superquam
quod dissenserant ab consilio, territis etiam duplici
prodigio, milite in vulgus læto ferocia ducis, quum
spem magis ipsam quam causam spei intueretur.

follows in hot haste

Hannibal, quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem 4
Trasumennumque lacum, omni clade belli
pervastat, quo magis iram hosti ad vindicandas
sociorum iniurias acuat; et iam 2
pervenerant ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime montes
Cortonenses Trasumennus subit. Via tantum interest
perangusta, velut ad *id* ipsum de industria
relicto spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus;
inde colles insurgunt. Ibi castra in aperto locat, 3
ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret;
Baliares ceteramque levem armaturam post montes
circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus, tumulis
apte tegentibus, locat, ut, ubi intrassent Romani, obiecto
equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

and falls into the trap laid for him between Lake Trasymene and the mountains.

Flaminius quum pridie solis occasu ad lacum per- 4
venisset, inexplorato postero die vixdum
satis certa luce angustiis superatis, postquam
in patentiorem campum pandi agmen
cœpit, id tantum hostium, quod ex adverso
erat, conspexit; ab tergo ac super caput deceptæ
insidiæ. Pœnus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu 5
ac montibus et circumfusum suis copiis habuit hostem,
signum omnibus dat simul invadendi. Qui 6
ubi, qua cuique proximum fuit, decucurrerunt, eo magis

His army surrounded on all sides, and taken unawares, is miserably destroyed.

Romanis subita atque improvisa res fuit, quod orta ex
lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat,
agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se
7 satis conspecta eoque magis pariter decucurrerant. Ro-
manus clamore prius undique orto, quam satis cerneret,
se circumventum esse sensit, et ante in frontem latera-
que pugnari cœptum est, quam satis instrueretur acies
5 aut expediri arma stringique gladii possent. Consul,
perculsis omnibus, ipse satis, ut in *re* trepida, impavi-
dus turbatos ordines, vertente se quoque ad dissonos
clamores, instruit, ut tempus locusque patitur, et qua-
cunque adire audirique potest, adhortatur ac stare ac
2 pugnare iubet: nec enim inde votis aut imploratione
deum, sed vi ac virtute evadendum esse; per medias
acies ferro viam fieri et, quo timoris minus sit, eo
3 minus ferme periculi esse. Ceterum præ strepitu ac
tumultu nec consilium nec imperium accipi poterat,
tantumque aberat, ut sua signa atque ordines et locum
noscerent, ut vix ad arma capienda aptandaque pugnæ
competeret animus, opprimerenturque quidam onerati
magis iis quam tecti. Et erat in tanta caligine maior
4 usus aurium quam oculorum. Ad gemitus vulnera-
torum ictusque corporum aut armorum et mixtos stre-
pentium paventiumque clamores circumferebant ora
5 oculosque. Alii fugientes pugnantium globo illati
hærebant; alios redeuntes in pugnam avertebat fugien-
6 tium agmen. Deinde, ubi in omnes partes nequicquam
impetus capti, et ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a fronte
et ab tergo hostium acies claudebat, apparuitque, nul-
lam nisi in dextera ferroque salutis spem esse, tum
sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam
7 et nova de integro exorta pugna est, non illa ordinata

per principes hastatosque ac triarios, nec ut pro signis antesignani, post signa alia pugnaret acies, nec ut in sua legione miles aut cohorte aut manipulo esset; fors 8
conglobabat et animus suus cuique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat, tantusque fuit ardor animorum, adeo intentus pugnæ [animus], ut eum motum terræ, qui multarum urbium Italiæ magnas partes prostravit avertitque cursu rapidos amnes, mare fluminibus invexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.

Tres ferme horas pugnatum est et ubique atrociter; 6
circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est. Eum et robora virorum seque- 2
bantur, et ipse, quacunque in parte premi ac laborare senserat suos, impigre ferebat opem, insignemque armis et hostes summa vi petebant et tuebantur cives, donec 3
Insuber eques (Ducario nomen erat) facie quoque noscitans consulem, "*En*" inquit "hic est" popularibus suis, "qui legiones nostras cecidit agrosque et urbem est depopulatus; iam ego hanc victimam manibus peremptorum fœde civium dabo." Subditisque calcaribus 4
equo per confertissimam hostium turbam impetum facit, obtruncatoque prius armigero, qui se infesto venienti obviam obiecerat, consulem lancea transfixit; spoliare cupientem triarii obiectis scutis arcuere. Magnæ partis 5
fuga inde primum cœpit; et iam nec lacus nec montes pavori obstabant; per omnia arta præruptaque velut cæci evadunt, armaque et viri super alium alii præcipitantur. Pars magna, ubi locus 6
fugæ deest, per prima vada paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus humerisque exstare possunt, sese immergunt; fuere, quos inconsultus pavor nando etiam

The consul himself falls fighting bravely to the last.

the rest are cut down or dispersed.

7 capessere fugam impulerit; quæ ubi immensa ac sine
spe erat, aut deficientibus animis hauriebantur gurgiti-
bus aut nequicquam fessi vada retro ægerrime repete-
bant, atque ibi ab ingressis aquam hostium equitibus
8 passim trucidabantur. Sex millia ferme primi agminis,
per adversos hostes eruptione impigre facta, ignari
omnium, quæ post se agerentur, ex saltu evasere, et
quum in tumulo quodam constitissent, clamorem modo
ac sonum armorum audientes, quæ fortuna pugnæ esset,
9 neque scire nec perspicere præ caligine poterant. In-
clinata denique re, quum incalescente sole dispulsa
nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida iam luce montes
campique perditas res stratamque ostendere fœde Ro-
10 manam aciem. Itaque ne in conspectos procul immit-
teretur eques, sublatis raptim signis, quam citatissimo
11 poterant agmine, sese abripuerunt. Postero die, quum
super cetera extrema fames etiam instaret, fidem dante
Maharbale, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis nocte
12 consecutus erat, si arma tradidissent, abire cum sin-
gulis vestimentis passurum, sese dediderunt; quæ Pu-
nica religione servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in
vincula omnes coniecti.

7 Hæc est nobilis ad Trasumennum pugna atque inter
paucas memorata populi Romani clades. Quindecim
millia Romanorum in acie cæsa; decem millia sparsa
fuga per omnem Etruriam diversis itineribus urbem
3 petiere; duo millia quingenti hostium in acie, multi
postea [utrinque] ex vulneribus periere. Multiplex
cædes utrinque facta traditur ab aliis; ego præterquam
4 quod nihil auctum ex vano velim, quo nimis inclinant
ferme scribentium animi, Fabium, æqualem tempori-
5 bus huiusce belli, potissimum auctorem habui. Hanni-

bal, captivorum qui Latini nominis essent, sine pretio dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis, segregata ex hostium coacervatorum cumulis corpora suorum quum sepeliri iussisset, Flaminii quoque corpus funeris causa magna cum cura inquisitum non invenit.

Romæ ad primum nuntium cladis eius cum ingenti 6
terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum
populi est factus. Matronæ vagæ per 7
vias, quæ repens clades allata quæve fortuna exercitus esset, obvios percontantur; et quum frequentis contionis modo turba in comitium et curiam versa magistratus vocaret, tandem haud multo ante solis occasum
M. Pomponius prætor "Pugna" inquit "magna victi 8
sumus." Et quanquam nihil certius ex eo auditum est, tamen alius ab alio impleti rumoribus domos re-
ferunt, consulem cum magna parte copiarum cæsum; 9
superesse paucos aut fuga passim per Etruriam sparsos
aut captos ab hoste. Quot casus exercitus victi fuerant, 10
tot in curas dispertiti animi eorum erant, quorum propinqui sub C. Flaminio consule meruerant, ignorantium, quæ cuiusque suorum fortuna esset; nec quisquam
satis certum habet, quid aut speret aut timeat. Postero 11
ac deinceps aliquot diebus ad portas maior prope mulierum quam virorum multitudo stetit, aut suorum aliquem aut nuntios de iis opperiens; circumfundebanturque obviis sciscitantes, neque avelli, utique ab notis, priusquam ordine omnia inquisissent, poterant.
Inde varios vultus digredientium ab nuntiis cerneres, 12
ut cuique læta aut tristia nuntiabantur, gratulantesque aut consolantes redeuntibus domos circumfusos. Feminarum præcipue et gaudia insignia erant et luctus.
Unam in ipsa porta sospiti filio repente oblatam in 13

The tidings fill Rome with grief and consternation

complexu eius exspirasse ferunt; alteram, cui mors filii falso nuntiata erat, mæstam sedentem domi, ad primum conspectum redeuntis filii gaudio nimio ex-
14 animatam. Senatum prætores per dies aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curia retinent, consultantes, quonam duce aut quibus copiis resisti victoribus Pœnis posset.

and are followed by the news of further loss.

8 Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens alia nuntiatur clades, quattuor millia equitum cum C. Centenio proprætore missa ad collegam ab Servilio consule in Umbria, quo post pugnam ad Trasumennum auditam averterant iter, ab
2 Hannibale circumventa. Eius rei fama varie homines affecit. Pars, occupatis maiore ægritudine animis, levem ex comparatione priorum ducere recentem equitum iac-
3 turam; pars non id, quod acciderat, per se æstimare, sed, ut in affecto corpore quamvis levis causa magis
4 quam *in* valido gravior sentiretur, ita tum ægræ et affectæ civitati quodcunque adversi incideret, non rerum magnitudine, sed viribus extenuatis, quæ nihil, quod
5 aggravaret, pati possent, æstimandum esse. Itaque

Q. Fabius Maximus is appointed dictator to meet the crisis.

ad remedium iam diu neque desideratum nec adhibitum, dictatorem dicendum, civitas confugit; et quia et consul aberat, a quo uno dici posse videbatur, nec per occupatam armis Punicis Italiam facile erat aut nuntium aut litteras mitti, nec dictatorem populo *non consulto senatus*
6 creare poterat, quod nunquam ante eam diem factum erat, dictatorem populus creavit Q. Fabium Maximum
7 et magistrum equitum M. Minucium Rufum; hisque negotium ab senatu datum, ut muros turresque urbis firmarent et præsidia disponerent, quibus locis vide-

retur, pontesque rescinderent fluminum: pro urbe ac penatibus dimicandum esse, quando Italiam tueri nequissent.

Hannibal recto itinere per Umbriam usque ad Spo- 9
letium venit. Inde, quum perpopulato 2
agro urbem oppugnare adortus esset, cum magna cæde suorum repulsus, coniectans ex unius coloniæ haud *maximæ* minime prospere tentatæ viribus, quanta moles Romanæ urbis
esset, in agrum Picenum avertit iter, non copia solum 3
omnis generis frugum abundantem, sed refertum præda,
quam effuse avidi atque egentes rapiebant. Ibi per 4
dies aliquot stativa habita, refectusque miles hibernis itineribus ac palustri via prœlioque magis ad eventum
secundo quam levi aut facili affectus. Ubi satis quietis 5
datum præda ac populationibus magis quam otio aut requie gaudentibus, profectus Prætutianum Hadrianum*que* agrum, Marsos inde Marrucinosque et Pelignos devastat circaque Arpos et Luceriam proximam Apuliæ
regionem. Cn. Servilius consul, levibus 6
prœliis cum Gallis factis et uno oppido ignobili expugnato, postquam de collegæ exercitusque cæde audivit, iam mœnibus patriæ metuens, ne abesset in discrimine extremo, ad urbem iter intendit.

Hannibal after a fruitless attack on Spoletium ravages Picenum and the neighbourhood as far as Luceria

while the consul Servilius retires to Rome.

Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum, quo die magis- 7
tratum iniit, vocato senatu, ab diis orsus, quum edocuisset patres, plus negligentia cærimoniarum auspiciorum*que quam* temeritate atque inscitia peccatum a C. Flaminio consule esse, quæque piacula iræ deum essent ipsos deos consulendos esse,
pervicit, ut, quod non ferme decernitur, nisi quum 8
tætra prodigia nuntiata sunt, decemviri libros Sibyl-

Fabius begins with the observances of religion;

9 linos adire iuberentur. Qui, inspectis fatalibus libris,
rettulerunt patribus, quod eius belli causa
votum Marti foret, id non rite factum
10 de integro atque amplius faciundum esse, et Iovi
ludos magnos et ædes Veneri Erycinæ ac Menti vo-
vendas esse, et supplicationem lectisterniumque ha-
bendum, et ver sacrum vovendum, si bellatum pros-
pere esset resque publica in eodem, quo ante bellum
11 fuisset, statu permansisset. Senatus, quoniam Fabium
belli cura occupatura esset, M. Æmilium prætorem ex
collegii pontificum sententia, omnia ea ut mature fiant,
10 curare iubet. His senatus consultis perfectis, L. Cor-
nelius Lentulus pontifex maximus, consulente collegium
prætore, omnium primum populum consulendum de
vere sacro censet: iniussu populi voveri non posse.
2 Rogatus in hæc verba populus: "Velitis
iubeatisne hæc sic fieri? Si res publica
populi Romani Quiritium ad quinquen-
nium proximum, sic*ut* velim voveamque, salva servata
erit hisce duellis, quod duellum populo Romano cum
Carthaginiensi est, quæque duella cum Gallis sunt,
3 qui cis Alpes sunt, tum donum duit populus Romanus
Quiritium, quod ver attulerit ex suillo, ovillo, caprino,
bovillo grege, quæque profana erunt, Iovi fieri, ex qua
4 die senatus populusque iusserit. Qui faciet, quando
volet quaque lege volet, facito; quo modo faxit, probe
5 factum esto. Si id moritur, quod fieri oportebit, pro-
fanum esto, neque scelus esto. Si quis rumpet occi-
detve insciens, ne fraus esto. Si quis clepsit, ne populo
6 scelus esto, neve cui cleptum erit. Si atro die faxit
insciens, probe factum esto. Si nocte sive luce, si
servus sive liber faxit, probe factum esto. Si antidea,

has the Sibylline books consulted

and a *ver sacrum* vowed with the consent of the people

ac senatus populusque iusserit fieri, faxitur, eo populus
solutus liber esto." Eiusdem rei causa ludi magni 7
voti æris trecentis triginta tribus millibus *trecentis*
triginta tribus triente, præterea bubus Iovi trecentis,
multis aliis divis bubus albis atque ceteris hostiis. Vo- 8
tis rite nuncupatis, supplicatio edicta;
supplicatumque iere cum coniugibus ac
liberis non urbana multitudo tantum, sed agrestium
etiam, quos in aliqua sua fortuna publica quoque con-
tingebat cura. Tum lectisternium per triduum ha- 9
bitum, decemviris sacrorum curantibus. Sex pulvi-
naria in conspectu fuerunt, Iovi ac Iunoni unum,
alterum Neptuno ac Minervæ, tertium Marti ac Ve-
neri, quartum Apollini ac Dianæ, quintum Vulcano ac
Vestæ, sextum Mercurio et Cereri. Tum ædes votæ.
Veneri Erycinæ ædem Q. Fabius Maximus dictator 10
vovit, quia ita ex fatalibus libris editum erat, ut is
voveret, cuius maximum imperium in civitate esset;
Menti ædem T. Otacilius prætor vovit.

and other solemn ordinances.

Ita rebus divinis peractis, tum de bello reque [de] 11
publica dictator rettulit, quibus quotque
legionibus victori hosti obviam eundum
esse patres censerent. Decretum, ut ab Cn. Servilio 2
consule exercitum acciperet; scriberet præterea ex
civibus sociisque, quantum equitum ac peditum vide-
retur; cetera omnia ageret faceretque, ut e re publica
duceret. Fabius duas legiones se adiecturum ad Ser- 3
vilianum exercitum dixit. Iis per magistrum equitum
scriptis Tibur diem ad conveniendum
edixit. Edictoque proposito, ut, quibus 4
oppida castellaque immunita essent, uti
commigrarent in loca tuta, ex agris quoque demi-

He then proceeds to levy troops

and to give instructions to the country folk near the seat of war,

grarent omnes regionis eius, qua iturus Hannibal esset, tectis prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis, ne cuius
5 rei copia esset, ipse via Flaminia profectus obviam consuli exercituque, quum ad Tiberim circa Ocriculum prospexisset agmen consulemque cum equitibus ad se progredientem, viatorem misit, qui consuli nuntiaret,
6 ut sine lictoribus ad dictatorem veniret. Qui quum dicto paruisset, congressusque eorum ingentem speciem dictaturæ apud cives sociosque vetustate iam prope oblitos eius imperii fecisset, litteræ ab urbe allatæ sunt, naves onerarias commeatum ab Ostia in Hispaniam ad exercitum portantes a classe Punica circa
7 portum Cosanum captas esse. Itaque extemplo consul

and to despatch the consul with a fleet to guard the coasts.

Ostiam proficisci iussus, navibusque, quæ ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiæ essent, completis milite ac navalibus sociis, per-
8 sequi hostium classem ac litora Italiæ tutari. Magna vis hominum conscripta Romæ erat; libertini etiam, quibus liberi essent et ætas militaris, in verba iura-
9 verant. Ex hoc urbano exercitu, qui minores quinque et triginta annis erant, in naves impositi, alii, ut urbi præsiderent, relicti.

12 Dictator, exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco

He then marched to Arpi where Hannibal's army was posted,

legato, per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo diem ad conveniendum edixerat novis
2 militibus, venit. Inde Præneste ac transversis limitibus in viam Latinam est egressus, unde, itineribus summa cum cura exploratis, ad hostem ducit, nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret, fortunæ
3 se commissurus. Quo primum die haud procul Arpis in conspectu hostium posuit castra, nulla mora facta, quin Pœnus educeret in aciem copiamque pugnandi

faceret. Sed ubi quieta omnia apud hostes nec castra 4
ullo tumultu mota videt, increpans quidem, victos
tandem [quos] Martios animos Romanis, debellatum-
que et concessum propalam de virtute ac gloria esse,
in castra rediit; ceterum tacita cura animum incessit, 5
quod cum duce haudquaquam Flaminii Semproniique
simili futura sibi res esset ac tum demum edocti malis
Romani parem Hannibali ducem quæsissent. Et pru- 6
dentiam quidem novi dictatoris extemplo timuit; con-
stantiam hauddum expertus, agitare ac tentare ani-
mum movendo crebro castra populando-
que in oculis eius agros sociorum cœpit,
et modo citato agmine ex conspectu abi- 7
bat, modo repente in aliquo flexu viæ, si

keeping it constantly in view from higher ground, but not accepting any offer of battle.

excipere degressum in æquum posset, occultus subsis-
tebat. Fabius per loca alta agmen ducebat, modico 8
ab hoste intervallo, ut neque omitteret eum neque
congrederetur. Castris, nisi quantum usus necessarii
cogerent, tenebatur miles; pabulum et ligna nec pauci
petebant nec passim; equitum levisque armaturæ sta- 9
tio, composita instructaque in subitos tumultus, et suo
militi tuta omnia et infesta effusis hostium popula-
toribus præbebat; neque universo periculo summa
rerum committebatur, et parva momenta levium cer- 10
taminum ex tuto cœptorum, finitimo receptu, assue-
faciebant territum pristinis cladibus militem minus iam
tandem aut virtutis aut fortunæ pænitere suæ. Sed 11
non Hannibalem magis infestum tam sanis consiliis
habebat quam magistrum equitum, qui nihil aliud,
quam quod impar erat imperio, moræ ad rem publi-
cam præcipitandam habebat, ferox rapidusque con-
siliis ac lingua immodicus. Primo inter paucos, dein 12

propalam in vulgus pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum affingens vicina virtutibus vitia, compellabat, premendoque superiorem, quæ pessima ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus crevit, sese extollebat.

13 Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Beneventanum depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit, irritat etiam de industria ducem, si forte accensum tot indignitatibus *ac* cladibus sociorum detrahere ad

Hannibal crossed into Samnium, and thence in hope of the betrayal of Capuæ moved into Campania,

2 æquum certamen possit. Inter multitudinem sociorum Italici generis, qui ad Trasumennum capti ab Hannibale dimissique fuerant, tres Campani equites erant, multis iam tum illecti donis promissisque Hannibalis
3 ad conciliandos popularium animos. Hi nuntiantes, si in Campaniam exercitum admovisset, Capuæ potiendæ copiam fore, quum res maior quam auctores esset, dubium Hannibalem alternisque fidentem ac diffidentem tamen, ut Campanos ex Samnio peteret,
4 moverunt. Monitos etiam atque etiam, *ut* promissa rebus affirmarent, iussosque cum pluribus et aliquibus
5 principum redire ad se dimisit. Ipse imperat duci, ut se in agrum Casinatem ducat, edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum occupasset, exitum Romano ad opem feren-

but was guided by mistake to Casilinum instead of Casinum.

6 dam sociis interclusurum; sed Punicum abhorrens ab Latinorum nominum *pronuntiatione os*, *Casilinum* pro Casino dux ut acciperet, fecit, aversusque ab suo itinere per Allifanum Callifanumque et Calenum agrum
7 in campum Stellatem descendit. Ubi quum montibus fluminibusque clausam regionem circumspexisset, voca-
8 tum ducem percontatur, ubi terrarum esset. Quum is Casilini eo die mansurum eum dixisset, tum demum

cognitus est error, et Casinum longe inde alia regione
esse; virgisque cæso duce et ad reliquorum terrorem 9
in crucem sublato, castris communitis, Maharbalem
cum equitibus in agrum Falernum prædatum dimisit.
Usque ad aquas Sinuessanas populatio ea pervenit. 10
Ingentem cladem, fugam tamen terroremque latius
Numidæ fecerunt; nec tamen is terror, quum omnia 11
bello flagrarent, fide socios dimovit, videlicet quia
iusto et moderato regebantur imperio nec abnuebant,
quod unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus parere.

His ravages of the rich ager Falernus excited the impatience of the Roman soldiers and the Master of the Horse, Minucius.

Ut vero, postquam ad Vulturnum flumen castra 14
sunt posita, exurebatur amœnissimus Italiæ ager villæque passim incendiis fumabant, per iuga Massici montis Fabio ducente, tum prope de integro seditio accensa; quieverant enim per paucos dies, 2
quia, quum celerius solito ductum agmen esset, festinari ad prohibendam populationibus Campaniam crediderant. Ut vero in extrema iuga Massici montis 3
ventum, et hostes sub oculis erant Falerni agri colonorumque Sinuessæ tecta urentes, nec ulla erat mentio
pugnæ, "Spectatum huc" inquit Minucius, "*ut* ad 4
rem fruendam oculis, sociorum cædes et incendia venimus? nec, si nullius alterius nos, ne civium quidem
horum pudet, quos Sinuessam colonos patres nostri
miserunt, ut ab Samnite hoste tuta hæc ora esset, 5
quam nunc non vicinus Samnis urit, sed Pœnus advena, ab extremis orbis terrarum terminis nostra cunctatione et socordia iam huc progressus? Tantum, pro, 6
degeneramus a patribus nostris, ut, præter quam oram
illi Punicas vagari classes dedecus esse imperii sui
duxerint, eam nunc plenam hostium Numidarumque

7 ac Maurorum iam factam videamus? Qui modo Sa-
guntum oppugnari indignando non homines tantum,
sed fœdera et deos ciebamus, scandentem mœnia Ro-
8 manæ coloniæ Hannibalem lenti spectamus. Fumus
ex incendiis villarum agrorumque in oculos atque ora
venit; strepunt aures clamoribus plorantium sociorum,
sæpius nostram quam deorum invocantium opem; nos
hic pecorum modo per æstivos saltus deviasque calles
9 exercitum ducimus, conditi nubibus silvisque. Si hoc
modo peragrando cacumina saltusque M. Furius re-
cipere a Gallis urbem voluisset, quo hic novus Camil-
lus, nobis dictator unicus in rebus affectis quæsitus,
10 Italiam ab Hannibale recuperare parat, Gallorum
Roma esset, quam vereor ne, sic cunctantibus nobis,
Hannibali ac Pœnis toties servaverint maiores nostri.
11 Sed vir ac vere Romanus, quo die dictatorem eum
ex auctoritate patrum iussuque populi dictum Veios
allatum est, quum esset satis altum Ianiculum, ubi
sedens prospectaret hostem, descendit in æquum atque
illo ipso die media in urbe, qua nunc busta Gallica
sunt, et postero die citra Gabios cecidit Gallorum
12 legiones. Quid? post multos annos quum ad Furculas
Caudinas ab Samnite hoste sub iugum missi sumus,
utrum tandem L. Papirius Cursor iuga Samnii per-
lustrando an Luceriam premendo obsidendoque et
lacessendo victorem hostem depulsum ab Romanis
13 cervicibus iugum superbo Samniti imposuit? Modo
C. Lutatio quæ alia res quam celeritas victoriam dedit,
quod postero die, quam hostem vidit, classem gravem
commeatibus, impeditam suomet ipsam instrumento
14 atque apparatu, oppressit? Stultitia est sedendo aut
votis debellari credere posse. Arma capias oportet

et descendas in æquum et vir cum viro congrediaris. Audendo atque agendo res Romana crevit, non his segnibus consiliis, quæ timidi cauta vocant." Hæc velut contionanti Minucio circumfundebatur tribunorum equitumque Romanorum multitudo, et ad aures quoque militum dicta ferocia evolvebantur; ac si militaris suffragii res esset, haud dubie ferebant, Minucium Fabio duci prælaturos.

Fabius pariter in suos haud minus quam in hostes 15
intentus, prius ab illis invictum animum
præstat. Quanquam probe scit, non in
castris modo suis, sed iam etiam Romæ

Fabius guards the passes by which Hannibal came as well as Casilinum

infamem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus tamen
tenore eodem consiliorum æstatis reliquum extraxit,
ut Hannibal destitutus ab spe summa ope petiti cer- 2
taminis iam hibernis locum circumspectaret, quia ea
regio præsentis erat copiæ, non perpetuæ, arbusta
vineæque et consita omnia magis amœnis quam ne-
cessariis fructibus. Hæc per exploratores relata Fa- 3
bio. Quum satis sciret, per easdem angustias, quibus
intraverat Falernum agrum, rediturum, Calliculam
montem et Casilinum occupat modicis præsidiis, quæ 4
urbs Vulturno flumine dirempta Falernum a Cam-
pano agro dividit; ipse iugis iisdem exercitum re-
ducit, misso exploratum cum quadringentis equitibus
sociorum L. Hostilio Mancino. Qui, ex turba iuve- 5
num audientium sæpe ferociter contio-
nantem magistrum equitum, progressus
primo exploratoris modo, ut ex tuto spe-

but loses some of his cavalry by the rashness of Mancinus.

cularetur hostem, ubi vagos passim per vicos Numidas
vidit et per occasionem etiam paucos occidit, extemplo 6
occupatus certamine est animus, exciderunt que præ-

cepta dictatoris, qui, quantum tuto posset, progressum prius recipere sese iusserat, quam in conspectum hos-
7 tium veniret. Numidæ alii atque alii occursantes refugientesque ad castra prope ipsa cum fatigatione
8 equorum atque hominum pertraxere. Inde Carthalo penes quem summa equestris imperii erat, concitatis equis invectus, quum prius, quam ad coniectum teli veniret, avertisset hostes, quinque ferme millia conti-
9 nenti cursu secutus est fugientes. Mancinus postquam nec hostem desistere sequi nec spem vidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos in prœlium rediit, omni
10 parte virium impar. Itaque ipse et delecti equitum circumventi occiduntur; ceteri effuso [rursus] cursu Cales primum, inde prope inviis callibus ad dictatorem perfugerunt.

11 Eo forte die Minucius se coniunxerat Fabio, missus ad firmandum præsidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam in artas coactus fauces imminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa Pœnus Appiæ limite per-
12 venire in agrum Romanum posset. Coniunctis exercitibus dictator ac magister equitum castra in viam deferunt, qua Hannibal ducturus erat; duo inde millia
16 hostes aberant. Postero die Pœni, quod viæ inter
2 bina castra erat, agmine complevere. Quum Romani sub ipso constitissent vallo, haud dubie æquiore loco, successit tamen Pœnus cum expeditis equitibusque ad lacessendum hostem. Carptim Pœni et procursando recipien-
3 doque sese pugnavere; restitit suo loco Romana acies; lenta pugna et ex dictatoris magis quam Hannibalis fuit voluntate. Ducenti ab Romanis, octingenti hostium cecidere.

He sends to hold the pass above Tarracina,

and occupies the mountain road through which the enemy means to pass.

Inclusus inde videri Hannibal, via ad Casilinum 4
obsessa, quum Capua et Samnium et tantum ab tergo
divitum sociorum Romanis commeatus subveheret,
Pœnus inter Formiana saxa ac Literni arenas stag-
naque et per horridas silvas hibernaturus esset; nec 5
Hannibalem fefellit, suis se artibus peti. Itaque quum
per Casilinum evadere non posset peten-
dique montes et iugum Calliculæ super-
andum esset, necubi Romanus inclusum
vallibus agmen aggrederetur, ludibrium oculorum spe- 6
cie terribile ad frustrandum hostem commentus, prin-
cipio noctis furtim succedere ad montes statuit. Fallacis
consilii talis apparatus fuit. Faces undique ex agris 7
collectæ fascesque virgarum atque aridi sarmenti præli-
gantur cornibus boum, quos domitos indomitosque
multos inter ceteram agrestem prædam agebat. Ad 8
duo millia ferme boum effecta, Hasdrubalique negotium
datum, ut nocte id armentum accensis cornibus ad
montes ageret, maxime, si posset, super saltus ab
hoste insessos. Primis tenebris silentio mota castra; 17
boves aliquanto ante signa acti. Ubi ad radices mon- 2
tium viasque angustas ventum est, signum extemplo
datur, ut accensis cornibus armenta in adversos con-
citentur montes; et metus ipse relucentis flammæ ex
capite calorque iam ad vivum ad imaque cornuum ad-
veniens velut stimulatos furore agebat boves. Quo 3
repente discursu, haud secus quam silvis montibusque
accensis, omnia circa virgulta *visa* ardere, capitumque
irrita quassatio excitans flammam hominum passim
discurrentium speciem præbebat. Qui ad transitum 4
saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in summis monti-
bus ac super se quosdam ignes conspexere, circum-

Hannibal outwits the Romans by a stratagem and passes the defiles,

ventos se esse rati præsidio excessere. Qua minime
densæ micabant flammæ, velut tutissimum iter petentes
summa montium iuga, tamen in quosdam boves palatos
5 a suis gregibus inciderunt. Et primo quum procul
cernerent, veluti flammas spirantium miraculo attoniti
6 constiterunt; deinde ut humana apparuit fraus, tum
vero insidias rati esse, cum maiore tumultu concitant
se in fugam. Levi quoque armaturæ hostium incur-
rere; ceterum nox æquato timore neutros pugnam in-
7 cipientes ad lucem tenuit. Interea toto agmine Han-
nibal traducto per saltum, et quibusdam in ipso saltu
hostium oppressis, in agro Allifano posuit castra.

18 Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius: ceterum et insidias
esse ratus et ab nocturno utique abhor-
rens certamine, suos munimentis tenuit.
2 Luce prima sub iugo montis prœlium
fuit, quo interclusam ab suis levem armaturam facile
(etenim numero aliquantum præstabant) Romani su-
perassent, nisi Hispanorum cohors ad id ipsum remissa
3 ab Hannibale supervenisset. Ea assuetior montibus et
ad concursandum inter saxa rupesque aptior ac levior
quum velocitate corporum, tum armorum habitu, cam-
pestrem hostem, gravem armis statariumque, pugnæ
4 genere facile elusit. Ita haudquaquam pari certamine
digressi, Hispani fere omnes incolumes, Romani ali-
quot suis amissis in castra contenderunt.

his Spanish troops being especially useful in the mountains.

5 Fabius quoque movit castra, transgressusque saltum
super Allifas loco alto ac munito consedit.
6 Tum per Samnium Romam se petere
simulans Hannibal usque in Pelignos populabundus
rediit; Fabius medius inter hostium agmen urbemque
Romam iugis ducebat, nec absistens nec congrediens.

Both armies move through Samnium into Apulia.

Ex Pelignis Pœnus flexit iter, retroque Apuliam re- 7
petens Gereonium pervenit, urbem metu, quia collapsa
ruinis pars mœnium erat, ab suis desertam; dictator 8
in Larinate agro castra communiit. Inde
sacrorum causa Romam revocatus, non
imperio modo, sed consilio etiam ac prope

and in the absence of Fabius Minucius is left in command.

precibus agens cum magistro equitum, ut plus consilio 9
quam fortunæ confidat et se potius ducem quam Sem-
pronium Flaminiumque imitetur: ne nihil actum cen-
seret extracta prope æstate per ludificationem hostis;
medicos quoque plus interdum quiete quam movendo
atque agendo proficere; haud parvam rem esse ab toties 10
victore hoste vinci desisse et ab continuis cladibus re-
spirasse,—hæc nequicquam præmonito magistro equitum
Romam est profectus.

Principio æstatis, qua hæc gerebantur, in Hispania 19
quoque terra marique cœptum bellum est.
Hasdrubal ad eum navium numerum, 2
quem a fratre instructum paratumque ac-

A Carthaginian fleet is surprised by the Romans in the mouth of the Hiberus

ceperat, decem adiecit; quadraginta navium classem 3
Himilconi tradit, atque ita Carthagine profectus naves
prope terram, exercitum in litore ducebat, paratus
confligere, quacunque parte copiarum hostis occurrisset.
Cn. Scipio postquam movisse ex hibernis hostem audi- 4
vit, primo idem consilii fuit; deinde minus terra propter
ingentem famam novorum auxiliorum concurrere ausus,
delecto milite ad naves imposito, quinque et triginta
navium classe ire obviam hosti pergit. Altero ab Tar- 5
racone die *ad* stationem decem millia passuum dis-
tantem ab ostio Hiberi amnis pervenit. Inde duæ
Massiliensium speculatoriæ præmissæ rettulere, classem
Punicam stare in ostio fluminis castraque in ripa posita.

6 Itaque ut improvidos incautosque universo simul effuso
terrore opprimeret, sublatis ancoris ad hostem vadit.
Multas et locis altis positas turres Hispania habet,
quibus et speculis et propugnaculis adversus latrones
7 utuntur. Inde primo conspectis hostium navibus,
datum signum Hasdrubali est, tumultusque prius in
terra et castris quam ad mare et ad naves est ortus,
nondum aut pulsu remorum strepituque alio nautico
8 exaudito aut aperientibus classem promuntoriis, quum
repente eques alius super alium ab Hasdrubale missus
vagos in litore quietosque in tentoriis suis, nihil minus
quam hostem aut prœlium eo die exspectantes, con-
scendere naves propere atque arma capere iubet: classem
9 Romanam iam haud procul portu esse. Hæc equites
dimissi passim imperabant; mox Hasdrubal ipse cum
omni exercitu aderat, †varioque omnia tumultu stre-
punt, ruentibus in naves simul remigibus militibusque,
fugientium magis e terra quam in pugnam euntium
10 modo. Vixdum omnes conscenderant, quum alii reso-
lutis oris in ancoras evehuntur, alii, ne quid teneat,
ancoralia incidunt; raptimque omnia *ac* præpropere
agendo, militum apparatu nautica ministeria impedi-
untur, trepidatione nautarum capere et aptare arma
11 miles prohibetur. Et iam Romanus non appropin-
quabat modo, sed direxerat etiam in pugnam naves.
Itaque non ab hoste et prœlio magis Pœni quam suomet
ipsi tumultu turbati, tentata verius pugna quam inita,
12 in fugam averterunt classem, et quum adversi amnis
os lato agmini et tam multis simul venientibus haud
sane intrabile esset, in litus passim naves egerunt, atque
alii vadis, alii sicco litore excepti, partim armati, par-
tim inermes ad instructam per litus aciem suorum per-

fugere; duæ tamen primo concursu captæ erant Punicæ naves, quattuor suppressæ. Romani, quanquam terra 20
hostium erat armatamque aciem toto prætentam [in] litore cernebant, haud cunctanter insecuti trepidam hostium classem naves omnes, quæ non aut perfregerant proras litori illisas aut 2
carinas fixerant vadis, religatas puppibus in altum extraxere; ad quinque et viginti naves e quadraginta cepere.

and wholly captured or destroyed.

Neque id pulcherrimum eius victoriæ fuit, sed quod 3
una levi pugna toto eius oræ mari potiti erant. Itaque ad Onusam classe profecti; 4
escensio ab navibus in terram facta. Quum urbem vi 5
cepissent captamque diripuissent, Carthaginem inde petunt, atque omnem agrum circa depopulati postremo tecta quoque iniuncta muro portisque incenderunt.
Inde iam præda gravis ad Longunticam pervenit classis, 6
ubi vis magna sparti *erat*, ad rem nauticam congesta ab Hasdrubale. Quod satis in usum fuit, sublato, ceterum omne incensum est. Nec continentis modo 7
prælecta est ora, sed in Ebusum insulam transmissum.
Ibi urbe, quæ caput insulæ est, biduum nequicquam 8
summo labore oppugnata, ubi in spem irritam frustra teri tempus animadversum est, ad populationem agri 9
versi, direptis aliquot incensisque vicis, maiore quam ex continenti præda parta quum in naves se recepissent, ex Baliaribus insulis legati pacem petentes ad Scipionem venerunt. Inde flexa retro classis reditumque 10
in citeriora provinciæ, quo omnium populorum, qui Hiberum accolunt, multorum et ultimæ Hispaniæ legati concurrerunt; sed qui vere dicionis imperiique 11
Romani facti sint obsidibus datis, populi amplius fuerunt

The Roman fleet sweeps the coast and islands.

12 centum viginti. Igitur terrestribus quoque copiis satis fidens Romanus usque ad saltum Castulonensem est progressus; Hasdrubal in Lusitaniam ac propius Oceanum concessit.

21 Quietum inde fore videbatur reliquum æstatis tem-
2 pus, fuissetque per Pœnum hostem; sed præterquam

The Ilergetes are easily routed, and Hasdrubal while on his way to help them is recalled by movements among the Celtiberi.

quod ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta avidaque in novas res sunt ingenia, Mandonius Indibilisque, qui antea Ilergetum
3 regulus fuerat, postquam Romani ab saltu recessere ad maritimam oram, concitis popularibus in agrum pacatum sociorum Romanorum
4 ad populandum venerunt. Adversus eos tribuni militum cum expeditis auxiliis a Scipione missi levi certamine, ut tumultuariam manum, fudere omnes, occisis quibusdam captisque magnaque parte armis ex-
5 uta. Hic tamen tumultus cedentem ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis Hiberum ad socios tutandos retraxit.
6 Castra Punica in agro Ilergavonensium, castra Romana ad Novam classem erant, quum fama repens
7 alio avertit bellum. Celtiberi, qui principes regionis suæ legatos *miserant* obsidesque dederant Romanis, nuntio misso a Scipione exciti arma capiunt provinciamque Carthaginiensium valido exercitu invadunt.
8 Tria oppida vi expugnant; inde cum ipso Hasdrubale duobus prœliis egregie pugnant; ad quindecim millia hostium occiderunt, quattuor millia cum multis militaribus signis capiunt.

22 Hoc statu rerum in Hispania P. Scipio in provin-

P. Scipio as proconsul joins his brother in Spain.

ciam venit, prorogato post consulatum imperio ab senatu missus, cum triginta longis navibus et octo millibus militum magnoque

commeatu advecto. Ea classis ingens agmine oneraria- 2
rum procul visa cum magna lætitia civium sociorum-
que portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit. Ibi milite 3
exposito, profectus Scipio fratri se coniungit, ac deinde
communi animo consilioque gerebant bellum. Occu- 4
patis igitur Carthaginiensibus Celtiberico bello, haud
cunctanter Hiberum transgrediuntur, nec ullo viso
hoste, Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius
Hispaniæ traditos ab Hannibale fama erat modico in
arce custodiri præsidio. Id unum pignus inclinatos ad 5
Romanam societatem omnium Hispaniæ populorum
animos morabatur, ne sanguine liberum suorum culpa
defectionis lueretur. Eo vinculo Hispaniam vir unus 6
sollerti magis quam fideli consilio exsolvit. Abelux
erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, fidus ante
Pœnis; tum, qualia plerumque sunt bar-
barorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutaverat
fidem. Ceterum transfugam sine magnæ 7
rei proditione venientem ad hostes nihil aliud quam
unum vile atque infame corpus esse ratus, id agebat,
ut quam maximum emolumentum novis sociis esset
Circumspectis igitur omnibus, quæ fortuna potestatis 8
eius poterat facere, obsidibus potissimum tradendis
animum adiecit, eam unam rem maxime ratus con-
ciliaturam Romanis principum Hispaniæ amicitiam.
Sed quum iniussu Bostaris præfecti satis sciret nihil 9
obsidum custodes facturos esse, Bostarem ipsum arte
aggreditur. Castra extra urbem in ipso litore habebat 10
Bostar, ut aditum ea parte intercluderet Romanis. Ibi
eum in secretum abductum, velut ignorantem, monet,
quo statu sit res: metum continuisse ad eam diem 11
Hispanorum animos, quia procul Romani abessent;

By the craft of Abelux the Spanish hostages at Saguntum are secured by the Romans who set them free.

nunc cis Hiberum castra Romana esse, arcem tutam
perfugiumque novas volentibus res; itaque, quos me-
tus non teneat, beneficio et gratia devinciendos esse.
12 Miranti Bostari percontantique, quodnam id subitum
13 tantæ rei donum posset esse, "Obsides" inquit "in
civitates remitte. Id et privatim parentibus, quorum
maximum momentum in civitatibus est suis, et pub-
14 lice populis gratum erit. Vult sibi quisque credi, et
habita fides ipsam plerumque obligat fidem. Minis-
terium restituendorum domos obsidum mihimet de-
posco ipse, ut opera quoque impensa consilium adiu-
vem meum et rei suapte natura gratæ, quantam in-
15 super gratiam possim, adiiciam." Homini non ad ce-
tera Punica ingenia callido ut persuasit, nocte clam
progressus ad hostium stationes, conventis quibusdam
auxiliaribus Hispanis et ab his ad Scipionem perduc-
16 tus, quid afferret expromit, et fide accepta dataque ac
loco et tempore constituto ad obsides tradendos, Sa-
guntum redit. Diem insequentem absumpsit cum
17 Bostare mandatis ad rem agendam accipiendis. Di-
missus, quum se nocte iturum, ut custodias hostium
falleret, constituisset, ad compositam cum iis horam
excitatis custodibus puerorum profectus, veluti ignarus
18 in præparatas sua fraude insidias ducit. In castra
Romana perducti; cetera omnia de reddendis obsidi-
bus, sicut cum Bostare constitutum erat, acta per
eundum ordinem, quo si Carthaginiensium nomine
19 sic ageretur. Maior aliquanto Romanorum gratia
fuit in re pari, quam quanta futura Carthaginiensium
fuerat. Illos enim graves superbos*que* in rebus se-
cundis expertos fortuna et timor mitigasse videri po-
20 terat; Romanus primo adventu, incognitus ante, ab

re clementi liberalique initium fecerat, et Abelux, vir
prudens, haud frustra videbatur socios mutasse. Ita- 21
que ingenti consensu defectionem omnes spectare;
armaque extemplo mota forent, ni hiems, quæ Ro-
manos quoque et Carthaginienses concedere in tecta
coegit intervenisset.

Hæc in Hispania [quoque] secunda æstate Punici 23
belli gesta, quum in Italia paulum inter-
valli cladibus Romanis sollers cunctatio
Fabii fecisset; quæ ut Hannibalem non 2
mediocri sollicitum cura habebat, tandem

Fabius sells his land which had been spared by Hannibal to pay the ransom for Roman prisoners.

eum militiæ magistrum delegisse Romanos cernentem,
qui bellum ratione, non fortuna gereret, ita contempta 3
erat inter cives armatos pariter togatosque, utique
postquam absente eo temeritate magistri equitum læto
verius dixerim quam prospero eventu pugnatum fue-
rat. Accesserant duæ res ad augendam invidiam dic- 4
tatoris, una fraude ac dolo Hannibalis, quod, quum a
perfugis ei monstratus ager dictatoris esset, omnibus
circa solo æquatis ab uno eo ferrum ignemque et vim
omnem hostium abstineri iussit, ut occulti alicuius 5
pacti ea merces videri posset, altera ipsius facto, primo
forsitan dubio, quia non exspectata in eo senatus
auctoritas est, ad extremum haud ambigue in maximam
laudem verso. In permutandis captivis, quod sic pri- 6
mo Punico bello factum erat, convenerat inter duces
Romanum Pœnumque, ut, quæ pars plus reciperet
quam daret, argenti pondo bina et selibras in militem
præstaret. Ducentis quadraginta septem quum plures 7
Romanus quam Pœnus recepisset argentumque pro eis
debitum, sæpe iactata in senatu re, quoniam non con- 8
suluisset patres, tardius erogaretur, inviolatum ab

hoste agrum, misso Romam Quinto filio, vendidit, fidemque publicam impendio privato exsolvit.

Minucius gains some advantage over Hannibal whose soldiers are dispersed for forage.

9 Hannibal pro Gereonii mœnibus, cuius urbis captæ atque incensæ ab se in usum horreorum pauca reliquerat tecta, in stativis erat.
10 Inde frumentatum duas exercitus partes mittebat; cum tertia ipse expedita in statione erat, simul castris præsidio et circumspectans,
24 necunde impetus in frumentatores fieret. Romanus tunc exercitus in agro Larinati erat; præerat Minucius magister equitum, profecto, sicut ante dictum est,
2 ad urbem dictatore. Ceterum castra, quæ in monte alto ac tuto loco posita fuerant, iam in planum deferuntur; agitabanturque pro ingenio ducis consilia calidiora, ut impetus aut in frumentatores palatos aut in
3 castra relicta cum levi præsidio fieret. Nec Hannibalem fefellit, cum duce mutatam esse belli rationem
4 et ferocius quam consultius rem hostes gesturos; ipse autem quod minime quis crederet, quum hostis propius esset, tertiam partem militum frumentatum, dua-
5 bus in castris retentis, dimisit; dein castra ipsa propius hostem movit, duo ferme a Gereonio millia, in tumulum hosti conspectum, ut intentum sciret esse
6 ad frumentatores, si qua vis fieret, tutandos. Propior inde ei atque ipsis imminens Romanorum castris tumulus apparuit; ad quem capiendum si luce palam iretur, quia haud dubie hostis breviore via præven-
7 turus erat, nocte clam missi Numidæ ceperunt. Quos tenentes locum contempta paucitate Romani postero
8 die quum deiecissent, ipsi eo transferunt castra. [Tum ut] itaque exiguum spatii vallum a vallo aberat, et id ipsum totum prope compleverat Romana acies. Simul

et per aversa a castris Hannibalis equitatus cum levi armatura emissus in frumentatores late cædem fugamque hostium palatorum fecit. Nec acie certare Han- 9
nibal ausus, quia tanta pars exercitus aberat *et* iam ea paucitate vix castra, si oppugnarentur, tutari poterat; iamque artibus Fabii sedendo et cunctando 10
bellum gerebat, receperatque suos in priora castra, quæ pro Gereonii mœnibus erant. Iusta quoque acie 11
et collatis signis dimicatum, quidam auctores sunt; primo concursu Pœnum usque ad castra fusum; inde eruptione facta repente versum terrorem in Romanos; Numerii Decimii Samnitis deinde interventu prœlium restitutum. Hunc principem genere ac divitiis non 12
Boviani modo, unde erat, sed toto Samnio, iussu dictatoris octo millia peditum et equites quingentos ducentem in castra, ab tergo quum apparuisset Hannibali, speciem parti utrique præbuisse novi præsidii cum Q. Fabio ab Roma venientis. Hannibalem, in- 13
sidiarum quoque aliquid timentem, recepisse suos; Romanum insecutum adiuvante Samnite duo castella eo die expugnasse. Sex millia hostium cæsa, quinque 14
admodum Romanorum; tamen in tam pari prope clade *vanam* famam egregiæ victoriæ cum vanioribus litteris magistri equitum Romam perlatam.

De his rebus persæpe et in senatu et in contione 25
actum est. Quum, læta civitate, dictator 2
unus nihil nec famæ nec litteris crederet *et*, ut vera omnia essent, secunda se magis

His partisans at Rome magnify his success and depreciate Fabius.

quam adversa timere diceret, tum M. Metilius tribunus 3
plebis id enim*vero* ferendum esse negat, non præsentem 4
solum dictatorem obstitisse rei bene gerendæ, sed absentem etiam gestæ obstare, et in ducendo bello sedulo

tempus terere, quo diutius in magistratu sit solusque
5 et Romæ et in exercitu imperium habeat. Quippe
consulum alterum in acie cecidisse, alterum specie
classis Punicæ persequendæ procul ab Italia ablega-
6 tum; duos prætores Sicilia atque Sardinia occupatos,
quarum neutra hoc tempore provincia prætore egeat;
M. Minucium magistrum equitum, ne hostem videret,
ne quid rei bellicæ gereret, prope in custodia habitum.
7 Itaque hercule non Samnium modo, quo iam tanquam
trans Hiberum agro Pœnis concessum sit, sed Cam-
panum Calenumque et Falernum agrum pervastatos
esse, sedente Casilini dictatore et legionibus populi
8 Romani agrum suum tutante. Exercitum cupientem
pugnare et magistrum equitum clausos prope intra
vallum retentos; tanquam hostibus captivis arma
9 adempta. Tandem, ut abscesserit inde dictator, ut
obsidione liberatos, extra vallum egressos fudisse ac
10 fugasse hostes. Quas ob res, si antiquus animus plebei

A bill is brought in to put Minucius on a level in power with Fabius,

Romanæ esset, audaciter se laturum fuisse
de abrogando Q. Fabii imperio; nunc
modicam rogationem promulgaturum de
11 æquando magistri equitum et dictatoris iure. Nec
tamen ne ita quidem prius mittendum ad exercitum
Q. Fabium, quam consulem in locum C. Flaminii
suffecisset.

12 Dictator contionibus se abstinuit in actione minime
populari. Ne in senatu quidem satis æquis auribus
audiebatur [tunc], quum hostem verbis extolleret bien-
13 niique clades per temeritatem atque inscientiam ducum
acceptas referret *et* magistro equitum, quod contra dic-
tum suum pugnasset, rationem diceret reddendam esse.
14 Si penes se summa imperii consiliique sit, propediem

effecturum, ut sciant homines, bono imperatore haud
magni fortunam momenti esse, mentem rationemque
dominari, et in tempore et sine ignominia servasse 15
exercitum, quam multa millia hostium occidisse, ma-
iorem gloriam esse. Huius generis orationibus frustra 16
habitis, et consule creato M. Atilio Regulo, ne præsens
de iure imperii dimicaret, pridie quam rogationis fe-
rendæ dies adesset, nocte ad exercitum abiit. Luce 17
orta quum plebis concilium esset, magis tacita invidia
dictatoris favorque magistri equitum animos versabat,
quam satis audebant homines ad suadendum, quod
vulgo placebat, prodire, et favore superante auctoritas
tamen rogationi deerat. Unus inventus est suasor legis 18
C. Terentius Varro, qui priore anno prætor
fuerat, loco non humili solum, sed etiam
sordido ortus. Patrem lanium fuisse ferunt, 19
ipsum institorem mercis, filioque hoc ipso in servilia
eius artis ministeria usum. Is iuvenis, ut primum ex 26
eo genere quæstus pecunia a patre relicta animos ad
spem liberalioris fortunæ fecit, togaque et forum pla- 2
cuere, proclamando pro sordidis hominibus causisque
adversus rem et famam bonorum primum in notitiam
populi, deinde ad honores pervenit, quæsturaque et 3
duabus ædilitatibus, plebeia et curuli, postremo et
prætura perfunctus, iam ad consulatus spem quum
attolleret animos, haud parum callide auram favoris 4
popularis ex dictatoris invidia petiit scitique plebis
unus gratiam tulit.

which is passed with the support of C. Terentius Varro,

Omnes eam rogationem, quique Romæ quique in 5
exercitu erant, æqui atque iniqui, præter ipsum dicta-
torem in contumeliam eius latam acceperunt. Ipse, 6
qua gravitate animi criminantes se ad multitudinem

inimicos tulerat, eadem et populi in se sævientis iniu-
7 riam tulit; acceptisque in ipso itinere litteris senatus
de æquato imperio, satis fidens, haudquaquam cum im-
perii iure artem imperandi æquatam, cum invicto a
27 civibus hostibusque animo ad exercitum rediit. Mi-
nucius vero quum iam ante vix tolerabilis fuisset se-
2 cundis rebus ac favore vulgi, tum utique
immodice immodesteque non Hannibale

Minucius wishes to exert his newly acquired power

3 magis victo ab se quam Q. Fabio gloriari. Illum in
rebus asperis unicum ducem ac parem quæsitum Han-
nibali, maiorem minori, dictatorem magistro equitum,
quod nulla memoria habeat annalium, iussu populi
æquatum in eadem civitate, in qua magistri equitum
virgas ac secures dictatoris tremere atque horrere soliti
4 sint; tantum suam felicitatem virtutemque enituisse.
Ergo secuturum se fortunam suam, si dictator in cunc-
tatione ac segnitie deorum hominumque iudicio dam-
5 nata perstaret. Itaque quo die primum congressus est
cum Q. Fabio, statuendum omnium primum ait esse,
6 quemadmodum imperio æquato utantur: se optimum
ducere, aut diebus alternis aut, si maiora intervalla
placerent, partitis temporibus alterius summum ius
7 imperiumque esse, ut par hosti non solum consilio, sed
viribus etiam esset, si quam occasionem rei gerendæ
8 habuisset. Q. Fabio haudquaquam id placere: omnia
fortunam eam habitura, quamcunque temeritas collegæ
habuisset; sibi communicatum cum illo, non ademp-
9 tum imperium esse; itaque se nunquam volentem
parte, qua posset, rerum consilio gerendarum cessu-
rum, nec se tempora aut dies imperii cum eo, exer-
citum divisurum, suisque consiliis, quoniam omnia non
10 liceret, quæ posset, servaturum. Ita obtinuit, ut legi-

and takes sole command of half the army in a separate camp.

ones, sicut consulibus mos esset, inter se
dividerent. Prima et quarta Minucio,
secunda et tertia Fabio evenerunt. Item 11
equites pari numero sociumque et Latini nominis aux-
ilia diviserunt. Castris quoque se separari magister
equitum voluit.

Duplex inde Hannibali gaudium fuit; neque enim 28
quicquam eorum, quæ apud hostes agerentur, eum
fallebat et perfugis multa indicantibus et
per suos explorantem: nam et liberam 2
Minucii temeritatem se suo modo captaturum, et sol-
lertiæ Fabii dimidium virium decessisse. Tumulus 3
erat inter castra Minucii et Pœnorum, quem qui occu-
passet, haud dubie iniquiorem erat hosti locum facturus.
Eum non tam capere sine certamine volebat Hannibal, 4
quanquam id operæ pretium erat, quam causam cer-
taminis cum Minucio, quem procursurum ad obsis-
tendum satis sciebat, contrahere. Ager omnis medius 5
erat prima specie inutilis insidiatori, quia non modo
silvestre quicquam, sed ne vepribus quidem vestitum
habebat, re ipsa natus tegendis insidiis, eo magis quod 6
in nuda valle nulla talis fraus timeri poterat; et erant
in anfractibus cavæ rupes, ut quædam earum ducenos
armatos possent capere. In has latebras, quot quem- 7
que locum apte insidere poterant, quinque millia con-
duntur peditum equitumque. Necubi tamen aut motus 8
alicuius temere egressi aut fulgor armorum fraudem in
valle tam aperta detegeret, missis paucis prima luce ad
capiendum, quem ante diximus, tumulum avertit oculos
hostium. Primo statim conspectu contempta paucitas, 9
ac sibi quisque deposcere pellendos inde hostes ac locum
capiendum; dux ipse inter stolidissimos ferocissimosque

He falls into a snare prepared for him by Hannibal

10 ad arma vocat et vanis minis increpat hostem. Prin-
cipio levem armaturam [dimittit], deinde conferto ag-
mine mittit equites; postremo, quum hostibus quoque
subsidia mitti videret, instructis legionibus procedit.
11 Et Hannibal laborantibus suis alia atque alia incres-
cente certamine mittens auxilia peditum equitumque
iam iustam expleverat aciem, ac totis utrinque viribus
12 certatur. Prima levis armatura Romanorum, præoc-
cupatum *ex* inferiore loco succedens tumulum, pulsa
detrusaque terrorem in succedentem intulit equitem
13 et ad signa legionum refugit. Peditum acies inter per-
culsos impavida sola erat videbaturque, si iusta ac
directa pugna esset, haudquaquam impar futura; tan-
tum animorum fecerat prospere ante paucos dies res
14 gesta; sed exorti repente insidiatores eum tumultum
terroremque in latera utrinque ab tergoque incursantes
fecerunt, ut neque animus ad pugnam neque ad fugam
29 spes cuiquam superesset. Tum Fabius, primo clamore
paventium audito, dein conspecta procul turbata acie,
"Ita est" inquit; "non celerius, quam timui, depren-
2 dit fortuna temeritatem. Fabio æquatus imperio Han-
nibalem et virtute et fortuna superiorem videt. Sed
aliud iurgandi succensendique tempus erit; nunc signa
extra vallum proferte; victoriam hosti extorqueamus,
3 confessionem erroris civibus." Iam magna ex parte
cæsis aliis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam,
Fabiana se acies repente velut cælo de-
4 missa ad auxilium ostendit. Itaque pri-
usquam ad coniectum teli veniret aut manum consere-
ret, et suos a fuga effusa et ab nimis feroci pugna
5 hostes continuit. Qui solutis ordinibus vage dissipati
erant, undique confugerunt ad integram aciem; qui

and is only saved by the timely succour of the legions of Fabius.

plures simul terga dederant, conversi in hostem vol-
ventesque orbem nunc sensim referre pedem, nunc
conglobati restare. Ac iam prope una acies facta erat 6
victi atque integri exercitus, inferebantque signa in
hostem, quum Pœnus receptui cecinit, palam ferente
Hannibale, ab se Minucium, se ab Fabio victum.

Ita per variam fortunam diei maiore parte exacta, 7
quum in castra reditum esset, Minucius,
convocatis militibus, "Sæpe ego" inquit 8
"audivi, milites, eum primum esse virum,

This humbles the pride of Minucius who makes ample amends for his presumption.

qui ipse consulat, quid in rem sit, secundum eum, qui
bene monenti obediat; qui nec ipse consulere nec
alteri parere sciat, eum extremi ingenii esse. Nobis 9
quoniam prima animi ingeniique negata sors est, se-
cundam ac mediam teneamus et, dum imperare dis-
cimus, parere prudenti in animum inducamus. Castra 10
cum Fabio iungamus. Ad prætorium eius signa quum
tulerimus, ubi ego eum parentem appellavero, quod
beneficio eius erga nos ac maiestate eius dignum est,
vos, milites, eos, quorum vos modo arma *ac* dexteræ 11
texerunt, patronos salutabitis, et, si nihil aliud, gra-
torum certe nobis animorum gloriam dies hic dederit."
Signo dato conclamatur inde, ut colligantur vasa. Pro- 30
fecti et agmine incedentes *ad* dictatoris castra in ad-
mirationem et ipsum et omnes, qui circa erant, con-
verterunt. Ut constituta sunt ante tribunal signa, 2
progressus ante alios magister equitum, quum patrem
Fabium appellasset, circumfusosque militum eius totum
agmen patronos consalutasset, "Parentibus" inquit 3
"meis, dictator, quibus te modo nomine, quod fando
possum, æquavi, vitam tantum debeo, tibi quum meam
salutem, tum omnium horum. Itaque plebeiscitum, 4

quo oneratus *sum* magis quam honoratus, primus anti-
quo abrogoque et, quod tibi mihique [quod] exercitibus-
que his tuis, servato ac conservatori, sit felix, sub
imperium auspiciumque tuum redeo et signa hæc le-
5 gionesque restituo. Tu, quæso, placatus me magis-
terium equitum, hos ordines suos quemque tenere
6 iubeas." Tum dextræ interiunctæ militesque, con-
tione dimissa, ab notis ignotisque benigne atque hos-
pitaliter invitati, lætusque dies ex admodum tristi
7 paulo ante ac prope exsecrabili factus. Romæ, ut est
perlata fama rei gestæ, dein litteris non magis ipsorum
imperatorum quam vulgo militum ex utroque exercitu
affirmata, pro se quisque Maximum laudibus ad cælum
8 ferre. Par gloria apud Hannibalem hostesque Pœnos
erat; ac tum demum sentire, cum Romanis atque in
9 Italia bellum esse; nam biennio ante adeo et duces
Romanos et milites spreverant, ut vix cum eadem
gente bellum esse crederent, cuius terribilem famam
10 a patribus accepissent. Hannibalem quoque ex acie
redeuntem dixisse ferunt, tandem eam nubem, quæ
sedere in iugis montium solita sit, cum procella im-
brem dedisse.

Servilius lands on the coast of Africa for plunder, but is driven back with loss,

31 Dum hæc geruntur in Italia, Cn. Servilius Gemi-
nus consul cum classe *centum viginti* na-
vium circumvectus Sardiniæ et Corsicæ
oram, et obsidibus utrinque acceptis, in
2 Africam transmisit, et priusquam in continentem
escensionem faceret, Menige insula vastata et ab in-
colentibus Cercinam, ne et ipsorum ureretur diripere-
turque ager, decem talentis argenti acceptis, ad litora
3 Africæ accessit copiasque exposuit. Inde ad popu-
landum agrum ducti milites navalesque socii iuxta

effusi, ac si *in* insulis cultorum egentibus prædarentur.
Itaque in insidias temere illati, quum a frequentibus 4
palantes, ab locorum gnaris ignari circumvenirentur,
cum multa cæde ac fœda fuga retro ad naves compulsi sunt. Ad mille hominum, cum iis Sempronio 5
Blæso quæstore amisso, classis ab litoribus hostium
plenis trepide soluta in Siciliam cursum tenuit, tradi- 6
taque Lilybæi T. Otacilio prætori, ut ab legato eius
P. Sura Romam reduceretur. Ipse per 7
Siciliam pedibus profectus freto in Italiam traiecit, litteris Q. Fabii accitus et
ipse et collega eius M. Atilius, ut exercitus ab se, exacto iam prope semestri imperio, acciperent.

and returns to take command of the legions of Fabius.

Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem adver- 8
sus Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt;
Cælius etiam eum primum a populo creatum dictatorem scribit. Sed et Cælium 9
et ceteros fugit, uni consuli Cn. Servilio, qui tum procul in Gallia provincia aberat, ius
fuisse dicendi dictatoris; quam moram quia exspec- 10
tare territa iam clade civitas non poterat, eo decursum
esse, ut a populo crearetur, qui pro dictatore esset;
res inde gestas gloriamque insignem ducis et augentes 11
titulum imaginis posteros, ut, qui pro dictatore *fuisset dictator* crederetur, facile obtinuisse.

who is called dictator in the annals though he could not have been regularly appointed.

Consules Atilius Fabiano, Geminus Servilius Mi- 32
nuciano exercitu accepto, hibernaculis mature communitis, *quod reliquum* autumni erat, Fabii artibus cum summa
inter se concordia bellum gesserunt. Frumentatum 2
exeunti Hannibali diversis locis opportuni aderant,
carpentes agmen palatosque excipientes; in casum uni-

The Romans harass Hannibal at Gereonium without accepting battle.

versæ dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus petebat
3 hostis, non veniebant, eoque inopiæ est redactus Han-
nibal, ut, nisi cum fugæ specie abeundum ei fuisset,
Galliam repetiturus fuerit, nulla relicta spe alendi
exercitus in eis locis, si insequentes consules eisdem
artibus bellum gererent.

4 Quum ad Gereonium iam hieme impediente con-

Neapolis sends gifts and promises of loyal help.

stitisset bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam
venere. Ab iis quadraginta pateræ au-
reæ magni ponderis in curiam illatæ atque ita verba
5 facta, ut dicerent, scire sese, populi *Romani* ærarium
bello exhauriri, et, quum iuxta pro urbibus agrisque
sociorum ac pro capite atque arce Italiæ, urbe Romana,
6 atque imperio geratur, æquum censuisse Neapolitanos,
quod auri sibi quum ad templorum ornatum, tum ad
subsidium fortunæ a maioribus relictum foret, eo iu-
7 vare populum Romanum. Si quam opem in sese cre-
derent, eodem studio fuisse oblaturos. Gratum sibi
patres Romanos populumque facturum, si omnes res
8 Neapolitanorum suas duxissent, dignosque iudicaverint,
ab quibus donum animo ac voluntate eorum, qui li-
bentes darent, quam re maius ampliusque acciperent.
9 Legatis gratiæ actæ pro munificentia curaque; patera,
quæ ponderis minimi fuit, accepta.

33 Per eosdem dies speculator Carthaginiensis, qui

Rome is not too much distracted by the war to take vigilant action towards the kings of Macedonia and Illyria, and also the Ligurians.

per biennium fefellerat, Romæ deprensus
2 præcisisque manibus dimissus, et servi
quinque et viginti in crucem acti, quod
in campo Martio coniurassent; indici
data libertas et æris gravis viginti millia.
3 Legati et ad Philippum Macedonum regem missi ad
deposcendum Demetrium Pharium, qui bello victus

ad eum fugisset, et alii in Ligures ad expostulandum, 4
quod Pœnum opibus auxiliisque suis iuvissent, simul
ad visendum ex propinquo, quæ in Boiis atque Insubribus
gererentur. Ad Pineum quoque regem in Illyrios 5
legati missi ad stipendium, cuius dies exierat, poscendum
aut, si diem proferri vellet, obsides accipiendos.
Adeo, etsi bellum ingens in cervicibus erat, nullius 6
usquam terrarum rei cura Romanos, ne longinquæ
quidem, effugiebat. In religionem etiam venit, ædem 7
Concordiæ, quam per seditionem militarem biennio
ante L. Manlius prætor in Gallia vovisset, locatam ad
id tempus non esse. Itaque duumviri ad eam rem 8
creati a M. Æmilio prætore urbano, C. Pupius et
Cæso Quinctius Flamininus, ædem in arce faciendam
locaverunt.

Ab eodem prætore ex senatus consulto litteræ ad 9
consules missæ, ut, si iis videretur, alter eorum ad consules creandos Romam veniret; se in eam diem, quam iussissent, comitia edicturum. Ad hæc *a* consuli- 10

The consuls cannot return for the elections and a dictator is appointed, and afterwards interreges for the purpose.

bus rescriptum, sine detrimento rei publicæ abscedi
non posse ab hoste; itaque per interregem comitia
habenda esse potius, quam consul alter a bello avocaretur.
Patribus rectius visum est, dictatorem a consule 11
dici comitiorum habendorum causa. Dictus L. Veturius
Philo M'. Pomponium Mathonem magistrum
equitum dixit. Iis vitio creatis iussisque die quarto 12
decimo se magistratu abdicare, ad interregnum *res*
rediit. Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. 34
Interreges proditi sunt a patribus C. Claudius App.
filius Cento, inde P. Cornelius Asina. In eius interregno
comitia habita magno certamine patrum ac

2 plebis. C. Terentio Varroni, quem sui generis homi-
nem, plebi insectatione principum popularibusque
artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabii opibus et dictatorio
imperio concusso aliena invidia splendentem, vulgus
extrahere ad consulatum nitebatur, patres summa ope
obstabant, ne se insectando sibi æquari assuescerent
3 homines. Q. Bæbius Herennius tribunus plebis, cog-
natus C. Terentii, criminando non sena-
tum modo, sed etiam augures, quod dic-
tatorem prohibuissent comitia perficere,
per invidiam eorum favorem candidato suo concilia-
4 bat: Ab hominibus nobilibus, per multos annos bellum
quærentibus, Hannibalem in Italiam adductum; ab
iisdem, quum debellari possit, fraude bellum trahi.
5 Quum quattuor legionibus universis pugnari posse
apparuisset eo, quod M. Minucius absente Fabio pros-
6 pere pugnasset, duas legiones, hosti ad cædem obiectas,
deinde ex ipsa cæde ereptas, ut pater patronusque
appellaretur, qui prius vincere prohibuisset Romanos
7 quam vinci. Consules deinde Fabianis artibus, quum
debellare possent, bellum traxisse. Id fœdus inter
omnes nobiles ictum, nec finem ante belli habituros,
quam consulem vere plebeium, id est, hominem novum
8 fecissent; nam plebeios nobiles iam eisdem initiatos
esse sacris et contemnere plebem, ex quo contemni *a*
9 patribus desierint, cœpisse. Cui non apparere, id
actum et quæsitum esse, ut interregnum iniretur, ut
10 in patrum potestate comitia essent? Id consules
ambos ad exercitum morando quæsisse; id postea, quia
invitis iis dictator esset dictus comitiorum causa, ex-
pugnatum esse, ut vitiosus dictator per augures fieret.
11 Habere igitur interregnum eos; consulatum unum

Discontent among the lower orders is fostered by the tribune Herennius,

certe plebis Romanæ esse; populum liberum habi-
turum ac daturum ei, qui mature vincere quam diu
imperare malit.

Quum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus 35
patriciis petentibus, P. Cornelio Me-
renda, L. Manlio Vulsone, M. Æmilio
Lepido, duobus nobilibus iam familiarum plebei, C. 2
Atilio Serrano et Q. Ælio Pæto, quorum alter ponti-
fex, alter augur erat, C. Terentius consul unus creatur,
ut in manu eius essent comitia rogando collegæ. Tum 3
experta nobilitas, parum fuisse virium in competitori-
bus eius, L. Æmilium Paulum, qui cum M. Livio
consul fuerat et damnatione collegæ et
sua prope ambustus evaserat, infestum
plebei, diu ac multum recusantem ad petitionem com-
pellit. Is proximo comitiali die, concedentibus om- 4
nibus, qui cum Varrone certaverant, par magis in
adversandum quam collega datur consuli. Inde præ-
torum comitia habita. Creati M'. Pomponius Matho 5
et P. Furius *Philus;* Philo Romæ iuri dicundo urbana
sors, Pomponio inter cives Romanos et peregrinos
evenit; additi duo prætores, M. Claudius Marcellus 6
in Siciliam, L. Postumius Albinus in Galliam. Omnes 7
absentes creati sunt, nec cuiquam eorum, præter Te-
rentium consulem, mandatus honos, quem non iam
antea gessisset, præteritis aliquot fortibus ac strenuis
viris, quia in tali tempore nulli novus magistratus
videbatur mandandus.

and C. Terentius is elected consul; afterwards L. Æmilius Paulus.

Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt; quantæ autem 36
copiæ peditum equitumque additæ sint,
adeo et numero et generè copiarum va-
riant auctores, ut vix quicquam satis

Larger armies are set on foot in the hope of bringing the war to a close.

2 certum affirmare ausus sim. Decem millia novorum
militum alii scripta in supplementum, alii novas quat-
3 tuor legiones, ut octo legionibus rem gererent; numero
quoque peditum equitumque legiones auctas, millibus
peditum et centenis equitibus in singulas adiectis, ut
quina millia peditum, treceni equites essent, socii
duplicem numerum equitum darent, peditis æquarent,
4 septem et octoginta millia armatorum et ducentos in
castris Romanis *fuisse*, quum pugnatum ad Cannas est,
5 quidam auctores sunt. Illud haudquaquam discrepat,
maiore conatu atque impetu rem actam quam prioribus
annis, quia spem, posse vinci hostem, dictator præ-
buerat.

6 Ceterum priusquam signa ab urbe novæ legiones moverent, decemviri libros adire atque inspicere iussi propter territos vulgo ho-

and the Sibylline books again consulted.

7 mines novis prodigiis. Nam et Romæ in Aventino
et Ariciæ nuntiatum erat sub idem tempus lapidibus
pluvisse, et multo cruore signa in Sabinis sudasse *et*
8 aquas fonte calido *gelidas* manasse; id quidem etiam,
quod sæpius acciderat, magis terrebat; et in via for-
nicata, quæ ad campum erat, aliquot homines de cælo
tacti exanimatique fuerant. Ea prodigia ex libris
9 procurata. Legati a Pæsto pateras aureas Romam
attulerunt. Iis, sicut Neapolitanis, gratiæ actæ, aurum
non acceptum.

37 Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostia cum
2 magno commeatu accessit. Legati in senatum introducti nuntiarunt, cædem C. Flaminii consulis exercitusque allatam

King Hiero sends large supplies of corn and a force of archers and slingers.

adeo ægre tulisse regem Hieronem, ut nulla sua pro-
3 pria regnique sui clade moveri magis potuerit. Ita-

que, quamquam probe sciat, magnitudinem populi
Romani admirabiliorem prope adversis rebus quam
secundis esse, tamen se omnia, quibus a bonis fideli- 4
busque sociis bella iuvari soleant, misisse; quæ ne
accipere abnuant, magno opere se patres conscriptos
orare. Iam omnium primum ominis causa Victoriam 5
auream pondo ducentum ac viginti afferre sese. Ac-
ciperent eam tenerentque et haberent propriam et
perpetuam. Advexisse etiam trecenta millia modium 6
tritici, ducenta hordei, ne commeatus deessent, et
quantum præterea opus esset, quo iussissent, subvec-
turos. Milite atque equite scire nisi Romano La- 7
tinique nominis non uti populum Romanum; levium
armorum auxilia etiam externa vidisse in castris
Romanis. Itaque misisse mille sagittariorum ac fun- 8
ditorum, aptam manum adversus Baliares ac Mauros
pugnacesque alias missili telo gentes. Ad ea dona 9
consilium quoque addebant, ut prætor, cui provincia
Sicilia evenisset, classem in Africam traiiceret, ut et
hostes in terra sua bellum haberent, minusque laxa-
menti daretur iis ad auxilia Hannibali summittenda.
Ab senatu ita responsum regi est, virum bonum egre- 10
giumque socium Hieronem esse atque uno tenore, ex
quo in amicitiam populi Romani venerit, fidem co-
luisse ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munifice
adiuvisse. Id perinde, ac deberet, gratum populo
Romano esse. Aurum et a civitatibus quibusdam 11
allatum, gratia rei accepta, non accepisse populum
Romanum; Victoriam omenque accipere, sedemque ei 12
se divæ dare dicare Capitolium, templum Iovis optimi
maximi. In ea arce urbis Romanæ sacratam volentem
propitiamque, firmam ac stabilem fore populo Romano.

13 Funditores sagittariique et frumentum traditum consulibus. Quinqueremes ad *centum viginti* navium classem, quæ cum T. Otacilio proprætore in Sicilia erat, quinque et viginti additæ, permissumque est, ut, si e re publica censeret esse, in Africam traiiceret.

38 Dilectu perfecto consules paucos morati dies, dum ab sociis ac nomine Latino venirent milites. Tum,

The levies are raised with unusual solemnities.

quod nunquam antea factum erat, iure iurando ab tribunis militum adacti mi-
3 lites; nam ad eam diem nihil præter sacramentum fuerat, iussu consulum conventuros neque iniussu abituros, et ubi ad decuriandum aut centuriandum convenissent, sua voluntate ipsi inter sese decuriati
4 equites, centuriati pedites coniurabant, sese fugæ atque formidinis ergo non abituros neque ex ordine recessuros nisi teli sumendi aut petendi [et] aut hostis feri-
5 endi aut civis servandi causa. Id ex voluntario inter ipsos fœdere ad tribunos ac legitimam iuris iurandi adactionem translatum.

6 Contiones, priusquam ab urbe signa moverentur,

The parting words of Varro are full of boastful arrogance.

consulis Varronis multæ ac feroces fuere, denuntiantis, bellum arcessitum in Italiam ab nobilibus mansurumque in visce-
7 ribus rei publicæ, si plures Fabios imperatores haberet,
8 se, quo die hostem vidisset, perfecturum. Collegæ eius

Paulus is in a different mood

Pauli una, pridie quam ex urbe proficisceretur, contio fuit, verior quam gratior populo, qua nihil inclementer in Varronem dictum
9 nisi id modo, mirari se, [quod ne] qui dux, priusquam aut suum aut hostium exercitum, locorum situm, naturam; regionis nosset, iam nunc togatus in urbe
10 sciret, quæ sibi agenda armato forent, et diem quoque

prædicere posset, qua cum hoste signis collatis esset
dimicaturus; se, quæ consilia magis res dent homini- 11
bus quam homines rebus, ea ante tempus immatura
non præcepturum; optare, ut, quæ caute ac consulte
gesta essent, satis prospere evenirent; temeritatem, 12
præterquam quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad id lo-
corum fuisse. Et sua sponte apparebat tuta celeribus 13
consiliis præpositurum, et, quo id constantius perse-
veraret, Q. Fabius Maximus sic eum proficiscentem
allocutus fertur.

and listens to the earnest warnings of Fabius to be cautious,

"Si aut collegam, id quod mallem, tui similem, 39
L. Æmili, haberes aut tu collegæ tui
esses similis, supervacanea esset oratio
mea; nam et duo boni consules, etiam 2
me indicente, omnia e re publica fide*que* vestra face-
retis et mali nec mea verba auribus vestris nec consilia
animis acciperetis. Nunc et collegam tuum et te 3
talem virum intuenti mihi tecum omnis oratio est,
quem video nequicquam et virum bonum et civem
fore, si, altera parte claudente re publica, malis con-
siliis idem ac bonis iuris et potestatis erit. Erras 4
enim, L. Paule, si tibi minus certaminis cum C. Te-
rentio quam cum Hannibale futurum censes; nescio
an infestior hic adversarius quam ille hostis maneat te.
Cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus locis ac 5
temporibus certaturus es; adversus Hannibalem le-
gionesque eius tuis equitibus ac peditibus pugnandum
tibi erit, Varro dux tuis militibus te est oppugnaturus.
Ominis etiam tibi causa absit C. Flaminii memoria. 6
Tamen ille consul demum et in provincia et ad exerci-
tum cœpit furere; hic, priusquam peteret consulatum,
deinde in petendo consulatu, nunc quoque consul,

7 priusquam castra videat aut hostem, insanit. Et qui
tantas iam nunc procellas prœlia atque acies iactando
inter togatos ciet, quid inter armatam iuventutem
censes facturum et ubi extemplo res verba sequitur?
8 Atqui si hic, quod facturum se denuntiat, extemplo
pugnaverit, aut ego rem militarem, belli hoc genus,
hostem hunc ignoro, aut nobilior alius Trasumenno
9 locus nostris cladibus erit. Nec gloriandi tempus ad-
versus unum est, et ego contemnendo potius quam
appetendo gloriam modum excesserim; sed ita res se
habet: una ratio belli gerendi adversus Hannibalem
10 est, qua ego gessi. Nec eventus modo hoc docet
(stultorum iste magister est), sed eadem ratio, quæ
fuit futuraque, donec res eædem manebunt, immuta-
11 bilis est. In Italia bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo
nostro; omnia circa plena civium ac sociorum sunt;
armis, viris, equis, commeatibus iuvant iuvabuntque:
12 id iam fidei documentum in adversis rebus nostris
dederunt; meliores, prudentiores, constantiores nos
13 tempus diesque facit. Hannibal contra in aliena, in
hostili est terra inter omnia inimica infestaque, procul
ab domo, ab patria; neque illi terra neque mari est
pax; nullæ eum urbes accipiunt, nulla mœnia; nihil
14 usquam sui videt, in diem rapto vivit; partem vix
tertiam exercitus eius habet, quem Hiberum amnem
traiecit; plures fame quam ferro absumpti; nec his
15 paucis iam victus suppeditat. Dubitas ergo, quin se-
dendo superaturi simus eum, qui senescat in dies, non
commeatus, non supplementum, non pecuniam habeat?
16 Quamdiu pro Gereonii, castelli Apuliæ inopis, tan-
17 quam pro Carthaginis mœnibus sedet? Sed ne ad-
versus te quidem de me gloriabor. Cn. Servilius atque

Atilius, proximi consules, vide, quemadmodum eum ludificati sint. Hæc una salutis est via, L. Paule, quam difficilem infestamque cives tibi magis quam
hostes facient. Idem enim tui, quod hostium milites 18
volent; idem Varro consul Romanus, quod Hannibal Pœnus imperator cupiet. Duobus ducibus unus resistas oportet. Resistes autem, *si* adversus famam rumoresque hominum satis firmus steteris, si te neque collegæ vana gloria neque tua falsa infamia moverit.
Veritatem laborare nimis sæpe aiunt, exstingui nun- 19
quam. *Vanam* gloriam qui spreverit, veram habebit.
Sine, timidum pro cauto, tardum pro considerato, im- 20
bellem pro perito belli vocent. Malo, te sapiens hostis metuat, quam stulti cives laudent. Omnia audentem contemnet Hannibal, nihil temere agentem metuet.
Nec ego, ut nihil agatur, *suadeo*, sed ut agentem te 21
ratio ducat, non fortuna; tuæ potestatis semper tu tuaque omnia sint; armatus intentusque sis; neque occasioni tuæ desis neque suam occasionem hosti des.
Omnia non properanti clara certaque erunt; festinatio 22
improvida est et cæca."

Adversus ea oratio consulis haud sane læta fuit, 40
magis fatentis ea, quæ diceret, vera quam facilia factu esse. Dictatori magistrum

but is not sanguine of success.

2
equitum intolerabilem fuisse; quid consuli adversus collegam seditiosum ac temerarium virium atque auc-
toritatis fore? Se populare incendium priore consulatu 3
semustum effugisse; optare, ut omnia prospere evenirent; sed si quid adversi caderet, hostium se telis potius quam suffragiis iratorum civium caput obiecturum.

Ab hoc sermone profectum Paulum tradunt, pro- 4

sequentibus primoribus patrum; plebeium consulem
sua plebes prosecuta, turba conspectior, quum dignitas
5 deesset. Ut in castra venerunt, permixto

Hannibal hopes to tempt the Romans to a general engagement,

novo exercitu ac vetere, castris bifariam
factis, ut nova minora essent propius
Hannibalem, in veteribus maior pars et omne robur
6 virium esset, consulum anni prioris M. Atilium, æta-
tem excusantem, Romam miserunt, Geminum Ser-
vilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanæ et socium
7 peditum equitumque duobus millibus præficiunt. Han-
nibal quanquam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias
cernebat, tamen adventu consulum mire gaudere.
8 Non solum enim nihil ex raptis in diem commeatibus
superabat, sed ne unde raperet quidem, quicquam
reliqui erat, omni undique frumento postquam ager
9 parum tutus erat, in urbes munitas convecto, ut vix
decem dierum, quod compertum postea est, frumentum
superesset, Hispanorumque ob inopiam transitio parata
fuerit, si maturitas temporum exspectata foret.

41 Ceterum temeritati consulis ac præpropero ingenio
materiam etiam fortuna dedit, quod in pro-

especially after they had gained some successes in skirmishing.

hibendis prædatoribus tumultuario prœlio
ac procursu magis militum quam ex præ-
parato aut iussu imperatorum orto haudquaquam par
2 Pœnis dimicatio fuit. Ad mille et septingenti cæsi,
non plus centum Romanorum sociorumque occisis.
Ceterum victoribus effuse sequentibus metu insidiarum
obstitit Paulus consul, cuius eo die (nam alternis im-
3 peritabant) imperium erat, Varrone indignante ac
vociferante, emissum hostem e manibus debellarique,
4 ni cessatum foret, potuisse. Hannibal id damnum
haud ægerrime pati; quin potius credere, velut ines-

catam temeritatem ferocioris consulis ac novorum
maxime militum esse. Et omnia ei hostium haud 5
secus quam sua nota erant: dissimiles discordesque
imperitare, duas prope partes tironum militum in ex-
ercitu esse. Itaque locum et tempus insidiis aptum 6
se habere ratus, nocte proxima, nihil præ-
ter arma ferente secum milite, castra

He lays a trap for them,

plena omnis fortunæ publicæ privatæque relinquit,
transque proximos montes læva pedites instructos 7
condit, dextra equites, impedimenta per convallem
mediam traducit, ut diripiendis velut desertis fuga 8
dominorum castris occupatum impeditumque hostem
opprimeret. Crebri relicti in castris ignes, ut fides 9
fieret, dum ipse longius spatium fuga præciperet, falsa
imagine castrorum, sicut Fabium priore anno frus-
tratus esset, tenere in locis consules voluisse. Ubi 42
illuxit, subductæ primo stationes, deinde propius ade-
untibus insolitum silentium admirationem fecit. Iam 2
satis comperta solitudine in castris, concursus fit ad
prætoria consulum nuntiantium fugam hostium adeo
trepidam, ut tabernaculis stantibus castra reliquerint,
quoque fuga obscurior esset, crebros etiam relictos
ignes. Clamor inde ortus, ut signa proferri iuberent 3
ducerentque ad persequendos hostes ac protinus castra
diripienda. Et consul alter velut unus
turbæ militaris erat; Paulus etiam at- 4
que etiam dicere providendum præcaven-

into which they nearly fall in spite of the caution of Paulus.

dumque esse; postremo, quum aliter neque seditionem
neque ducem seditionis sustinere posset, Marium Sta-
tilium præfectum cum turma Lucana exploratum
mittit. Qui ubi adequitavit portis, subsistere extra 5
munimenta ceteris iussis, ipse cum duobus equitibus

vallum intravit, speculatusque omnia cum cura re-
6 nuntiat, insidias profecto esse; ignes in parte castro-
rum, quæ vergat ad hostem, relictos; tabernacula
aperta et omnia cara in promptu relicta; argentum
quibusdam locis temere per vias vel*ut* obiectum ad
7 prædam vidisse. Quæ ad deterrendos a cupiditate
animos nuntiata erant, ea accenderunt, et clamore orto
a militibus, ni signum detur, sine ducibus ituros, haud-
quaquam dux defuit; nam extemplo Varro signum
8 dedit proficiscendi. Paulus, quum ei sua sponte cunc-
tanti pulli quoque auspicio non addixissent, nuntiari
9 iam efferenti porta signa collegæ iussit. Quod quan-
quam Varro ægre est passus, Flaminii tamen recens
casus Claudiique consulis primo Punico bello memo-
10 rata navalis clades religionem animo incussit. Di
prope ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibuere
imminentem pestem Romanis; nam forte ita evenit,
ut, quum referri signa in castra iubenti consuli milites
11 non parerent, servi duo, Formiani unus, alter Sidicini
equitis, qui Servilio atque Atilio consulibus inter
pabulatores excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugerent
eo die ad dominos; deductique ad consules nuntiant,
omnem exercitum Hannibalis trans proximos montes
12 sedere in insidiis. Horum opportunus adventus con-
sules imperii potentes fecit, quum ambitio alterius
suam primum apud eos prava indulgentia maiestatem
solvisset.

43 Hannibal postquam motos magis inconsulte Ro-
manos quam ad ultimum temere evectos
vidit, nequicquam detecta fraude in cas-
2 tra rediit. Ibi plures dies propter inopiam frumenti
manere nequit, novaque consilia in dies non apud

Want of supplies forces him to retire to Cannæ.

milites solum mixtos ex colluvione omnium gentium,
sed etiam apud ducem ipsum oriebantur. Nam quum 3
initio fremitus, deinde aperta vociferatio fuisset ex-
poscentium stipendium debitum querentiumque an-
nonam primo, postremo famem, et mercenarios milites,
maxime Hispani generis, de transitione cepisse con-
silium fama esset, ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de 4
fuga in Galliam dicitur agitasse, ita ut, relicto peditatu
omni, cum equitibus se proriperet. Quum hæc con- 5
silia atque hic habitus animorum esset in castris,
movere inde statuit in calidiora atque eo maturiora
messibus Apuliæ loca, simul *ut*, quo longius ab hoste
recessisset, transfugia impeditiora levibus ingeniis es-
sent. Profectus est nocte ignibus similiter factis ta- 6
bernaculisque paucis in speciem relictis, ut insidiarum
par priori metus contineret Romanos. Sed per eun- 7
dem Lucanum Statilium omnibus ultra castra transque
montes exploratis, quum relatum esset, visum procul
hostium agmen, tum de insequendo eo consilia agitari
cœpta. Quum utriusque consulis eadem, quæ ante 8
semper, fuisset sententia, ceterum Varroni fere omnes,
Paulo nemo præter Servilium, prioris anni consulem,
assentiretur, maioris partis sententia ad nobilitandas 9
clade Romana Cannas urgente fato profecti sunt. Pro- 10
pe eum vicum Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Vul-
turno vento, qui campis torridis siccitate nubes pulveris
vehit. Id quum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum 11
salutare præcipue futurum erat, quum aciem dirigerent,
ipsi aversi, terga tantum afflante vento, in occæcatum
pulvere offuso hostem pugnaturi.

Consules, satis exploratis itineribus, sequentes 44
Pœnum, ut ventum ad Cannas est et in conspectu

Pœnum habebant, bina castra communiunt, eodem ferme intervallo, quo ad Gereonium, sicut

whither the Romans follow him, though with divided counsels.

2 ante, copiis divisis. Aufidus amnis, utrisque castris affluens, aditum aquatoribus ex sua cuiusque opportunitate haud sine certamine
3 dabat; ex minoribus tamen castris, quæ posita trans Aufidum erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa
4 ulterior nullum habebat hostium præsidium. Hannibal spem nanctus, locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, dirigit aciem lacessitque Numidarum
5 procursatione hostes. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia consulum Romana castra, quum Paulus Semproniique et Flaminii temeritatem Varroni, Varro *Paulo* speciosum timidis ac segnibus ducibus
6 exemplum Fabium obiiceret, testareturque deos hominesque hic, nullam penes se culpam esse, quod Hannibal iam vel*ut* usu cepisset Italiam; se constrictum a collega teneri; ferrum atque arma iratis et pugnare
7 cupientibus adimi militibus; ille, si quid proiectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque improvidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis culpæ exsortem, omnis eventus participem fore diceret; videret, ut, quibus lingua *tam* prompta ac temeraria, æque in pugna vigerent manus.

45 Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat instructam, quum in

The Punic skirmishers harass the Romans,

2 castra ceteras reciperet copias, Numidas ad invadendos ex minoribus castris Romanorum aquatores trans flu-
3 men mittit. Quam inconditam turbam quum vixdum in ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu fugassent, *in*

stationem quoque pro vallo locatam atque ipsas prope
portas evecti sunt. Id vero *adeo* indignum visum, ab 4
tumultuario auxilio iam etiam castra Romana terreri,
ut ea modo una causa, ne extemplo transirent flumen
dirigerentque aciem, tenuerit Romanos, quod summa
imperii eo die penes Paulum fuerit. Itaque postero 5
die Varro, cui sors eius diei imperii erat,
nihil consulto collega signum proposuit

and Varro insists on offering battle

instructasque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paulo,
quia magis non probare quam non adiuvare consilium
poterat. Transgressi flumen eas quoque, quas in cas- 6
tris minoribus habuerant, copias suis adiungunt atque
ita instruunt aciem: in dextro cornu (id erat flumini
propius) Romanos equites locant, deinde pedites; læ- 7
vum cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra pedites, ad
medium iuncti legionibus Romanis, tenuerunt; iacu-
latores cum ceteris levium armorum auxiliis prima
acies facta. Consules cornua tenuere, Terentius lævum, 8
Æmilius dextrum; Gemino Servilio media pugna
tuenda data.

Hannibal luce prima, Baliaribus levique alia arma- 46
tura præmissa, transgressus flumen, ut
quosque traduxerat, ita in acie locabat,

for which Hannibal is prepared.

Gallos Hispanosque equites prope ripam lævo in cornu 2
adversus Romanum equitatum; dextrum cornu Numi- 3
dis equitibus datum, media acie peditibus firmata, ita
ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent, interponerentur his
medii Galli atque Hispani. Afros Romanam magna 4
ex parte crederes aciem; ita armati erant armis et ad
Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasumennum
captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta eiusdem formæ fere 5
erant, dispares ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis prælongi ac

sine mucronibus, Hispano, punctim magis quam cæsim
assueto petere hostem, brevitate habiles et cum mucro-
nibus. Ante alios habitus gentium harum quum mag-
6 nitudine corporum, tum specie terribilis erat: Galli
super umbilicum erant nudi; Hispani linteis prætextis
purpura tunicis, candore miro fulgentibus, constiterant.
Numerus omnium peditum, qui tum steterunt in acie,
7 millium fuit quadraginta, decem equitum. Duces
cornibus præerant sinistro Hasdrubal, dextro Mahar-
bal; mediam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone
8 tenuit. Sol seu de industria ita locatis, seu quod
forte ita stetere, peropportune utrique parti obliquus
erat, Romanis in meridiem, Pœnis in septentrionem
9 versis; ventus (Vulturnum regionis incolæ vocant)
adversus Romanis coortus multo pulvere in ipsa ora
volvendo prospectum ademit.

47 Clamore sublato, procursum *ab* auxiliis et pugna
levibus primum armis commissa; deinde
equitum Gallorum Hispanorum*que* lævum

The Romans are outmanœuvred at Cannæ,

cornu cum dextro Romano concurrit, minime equestris
2 more pugnæ; frontibus enim adversis concurrendum
erat, quia, nullo circa ad evagandum relicto spatio,
3 hinc amnis hinc peditum acies claudebant. In directum
utrinque nitentes, stantibus ac confertis postremo turba
equis, vir virum amplexus detrahebat equo. Pedestre
magna iam ex parte certamen factum erat; acrius tamen
quam diutius pugnatum est, pulsique Romani equites
4 terga vertunt. Sub equestris finem certaminis coorta
est peditum pugna, primo et viribus et animis par,
5 dum constabant ordines Gallis Hispanisque; tandem
Romani, diu ac sæpe connisi, obliqua fronte acieque
densa impulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem eoque

parum validum, a cetera prominentem acie. Impulsis 6
deinde ac trepide referentibus pedem institere ac tenore
uno per præceps pavore fugientium agmen in mediam
primum aciem illati, postremo nullo resistente ad sub-
sidia Afrorum pervenerunt, qui utrinque reductis alis 7
constiterant, media, qua Galli Hispanique steterant,
aliquantum prominente acie. Qui cuneus ut pulsus 8
æquavit frontem primum, dein cedendo etiam sinum
in medio dedit, Afri circa iam cornua fecerant, irruen-
tibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumdedere
alas; mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo
hostes. Hinc Romani, defuncti nequicquam prœlio 9
uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceci-
derant, adversus Afros integram pugnam ineunt, non 10
tantum eo iniquam, quod inclusi adversus circumfusos,
sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pug-
nabant.

Iam et sinistro cornu Romano, ubi sociorum equites 48
adversus Numidas steterant, consertum prœlium erat,
segne primo et a Punica cœptum fraude. Quingenti 2
ferme Numidæ, præter solita arma telaque gladios oc-
cultos sub loricis habentes, specie transfugarum quum
ab suis parmas post terga habentes adequitassent, re- 3
pente ex equis desiliunt, parmisque et iaculis ante
pedes hostium proiectis, in mediam aciem accepti duc-
tique ad ultimos considere ab tergo iubentur. Ac dum
prœlium ab omni parte conseritur, quieti manserunt;
postquam omnium animos oculosque occupaverat cer- 4
tamen, tum arreptis scutis, quæ passim inter acervos
cæsorum corporum strata erant, aversam adoriuntur
Romanam aciem, tergaque ferientes ac poplites cædentes
stragem ingentem ac maiorem aliquanto pavorem ac

sequentibus primoribus patrum; plebeïum consulem
sua plebes prosecuta, turba conspectior, quum dignitas
5 deesset. Ut in castra venerunt, permixto
novo exercitu ac vetere, castris bifariam
factis, ut nova minora essent propius
Hannibalem, in veteribus maior pars et omne robur
6 virium esset, consulum anni prioris M. Atilium, æta-
tem excusantem, Romam miserunt, Geminum Ser-
vilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanæ et socium
7 peditum equitumque duobus millibus præficiunt. Han-
nibal quanquam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias
cernebat, tamen adventu consulum mire gaudere.
8 Non solum enim nihil ex raptis in diem commeatibus
superabat, sed ne unde raperet quidem, quicquam
reliqui erat, omni undique frumento postquam ager
9 parum tutus erat, in urbes munitas convecto, ut vix
decem dierum, quod compertum postea est, frumentum
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maxime militum esse. Et omnia ei hostium haud 5
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ercitu esse. Itaque locum et tempus insidiis aptum 6
se habere ratus, nocte proxima, nihil præ-
ter arma ferente secum milite, castra
plena omnis fortunæ publicæ privatæque relinquit,
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He lays a trap for them,

into which they nearly fall in spite of the caution of Paulus.

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6 nuntiat, insidias profecto esse; ignes in parte castro-
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10 rata navalis clades religionem animo incussit. Di
prope ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibuere
imminentem pestem Romanis; nam forte ita evenit,
ut, quum referri signa in castra iubenti consuli milites
11 non parerent, servi duo, Formiani unus, alter Sidicini
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pabulatores excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugerent
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12 sedere in insidiis. Horum opportunus adventus con-
sules imperii potentes fecit, quum ambitio alterius
suam primum apud eos prava indulgentia maiestatem
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par priori metus contineret Romanos. Sed per eun- 7
dem Lucanum Statilium omnibus ultra castra transque
montes exploratis, quum relatum esset, visum procul
hostium agmen, tum de insequendo eo consilia agitari
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pe eum vicum Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Vul-
turno vento, qui campis torridis siccitate nubes pulveris
vehit. Id quum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum 11
salutare præcipue futurum erat, quum aciem dirigerent,
ipsi aversi, terga tantum afflante vento, in occæcatum
pulvere offuso hostem pugnaturi.

Consules, satis exploratis itineribus, sequentes 44
Pœnum, ut ventum ad Cannas est et in conspectu

Pœnum habebant, bina castra communiunt, eodem
ferme intervallo, quo ad Gereonium, sicut

whither the Romans follow him, though with divided counsels.

2 ante, copiis divisis. Aufidus amnis, utris-
que castris affluens, aditum aquatoribus
ex sua cuiusque opportunitate haud sine certamine
3 dabat; ex minoribus tamen castris, quæ posita trans
Aufidum erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa
4 ulterior nullum habebat hostium præsidium. Hanni-
bal spem nanctus, locis natis ad equestrem pugnam,
qua parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pug-
nandi consules, dirigit aciem lacessitque Numidarum
5 procursatione hostes. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione
militari ac discordia consulum Romana castra, quum
Paulus Semproniique et Flaminii temeritatem Varro-
ni, Varro *Paulo* speciosum timidis ac segnibus ducibus
6 exemplum Fabium obiiceret, testareturque deos homi-
nesque hic, nullam penes se culpam esse, quod Hanni-
bal iam vel*ut* usu cepisset Italiam; se constrictum a
collega teneri; ferrum atque arma iratis et pugnare
7 cupientibus adimi militibus; ille, si quid proiectis ac
proditis ad inconsultam atque improvidam pugnam
legionibus accideret, se omnis culpæ exsortem, omnis
eventus participem fore diceret; videret, ut, quibus
lingua *tam* prompta ac temeraria, æque in pugna
vigerent manus.

45 Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus
teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad mul-
tum diei tenuerat instructam, quum in

The Punic skirmishers harass the Romans,

2 castra ceteras reciperet copias, Numidas ad invadendos
ex minoribus castris Romanorum aquatores trans flu-
3 men mittit. Quam inconditam turbam quum vixdum
in ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu fugassent, *in*

stationem quoque pro vallo locatam atque ipsas prope portas evecti sunt. Id vero *adeo* indignum visum, ab 4
tumultuario auxilio iam etiam castra Romana terreri, ut ea modo una causa, ne extemplo transirent flumen dirigerentque aciem, tenuerit Romanos, quod summa imperii eo die penes Paulum fuerit. Itaque postero 5
die Varro, cui sors eius diei imperii erat, nihil consulto collega signum proposuit instructasque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paulo, quia magis non probare quam non adiuvare consilium poterat. Transgressi flumen eas quoque, quas in cas- 6
tris minoribus habuerant, copias suis adiungunt atque ita instruunt aciem: in dextro cornu (id erat flumini propius) Romanos equites locant, deinde pedites; læ- 7
vum cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra pedites, ad medium iuncti legionibus Romanis, tenuerunt; iaculatores cum ceteris levium armorum auxiliis prima acies facta. Consules cornua tenuere, Terentius lævum, 8
Æmilius dextrum; Gemino Servilio media pugna tuenda data.

and Varro insists on offering battle

Hannibal luce prima, Baliaribus levique alia arma- 46
tura præmissa, transgressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat, ita in acie locabat, Gallos Hispanosque equites prope ripam lævo in cornu 2
adversus Romanum equitatum; dextrum cornu Numi- 3
dis equitibus datum, media acie peditibus firmata, ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent, interponerentur his medii Galli atque Hispani. Afros Romanam magna 4
ex parte crederes aciem; ita armati erant armis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasumennum captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta eiusdem formæ fere 5
erant, dispares ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis prælongi ac

for which Hannibal is prepared.

sine mucronibus, Hispano, punctim magis quam cæsim assueto petere hostem, brevitate habiles et cum mucronibus. Ante alios habitus gentium harum quum magnitudine corporum, tum specie terribilis erat: Galli
6 super umbilicum erant nudi; Hispani linteis prætextis purpura tunicis, candore miro fulgentibus, constiterant. Numerus omnium peditum, qui tum steterunt in acie,
7 millium fuit quadraginta, decem equitum. Duces cornibus præerant sinistro Hasdrubal, dextro Maharbal; mediam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone
8 tenuit. Sol seu de industria ita locatis, seu quod forte ita stetere, peropportune utrique parti obliquus erat, Romanis in meridiem, Pœnis in septentrionem
9 versis; ventus (Vulturnum regionis incolæ vocant) adversus Romanis coortus multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit.

47 Clamore sublato, procursum *ab* auxiliis et pugna levibus primum armis commissa; deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorum*que* lævum cornu cum dextro Romano concurrit, minime equestris

The Romans are outmanœuvred at Cannæ,

2 more pugnæ; frontibus enim adversis concurrendum erat, quia, nullo circa ad evagandum relicto spatio,
3 hinc amnis hinc peditum acies claudebant. In directum utrinque nitentes, stantibus ac confertis postremo turba equis, vir virum amplexus detrahebat equo. Pedestre magna iam ex parte certamen factum erat; acrius tamen quam diutius pugnatum est, pulsique Romani equites
4 terga vertunt. Sub equestris finem certaminis coorta est peditum pugna, primo et viribus et animis par,
5 dum constabant ordines Gallis Hispanisque; tandem Romani, diu ac sæpe connisi, obliqua fronte acieque densa impulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem eoque

parum validum, a cetera prominentem acie. Impulsis 6.
deinde ac trepide referentibus pedem institere ac tenore uno per præceps pavore fugientium agmen in mediam primum aciem illati, postremo nullo resistente ad subsidia Afrorum pervenerunt, qui utrinque reductis alis 7
constiterant, media, qua Galli Hispanique steterant, aliquantum prominente acie. Qui cuneus ut pulsus 8
æquavit frontem primum, dein cedendo etiam sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa iam cornua fecerant, irruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumdedere alas; mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo hostes. Hinc Romani, defuncti nequicquam prœlio 9
uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant, adversus Afros integram pugnam ineunt, non 10
tantum eo iniquam, quod inclusi adversus circumfusos, sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pugnabant.

Iam et sinistro cornu Romano, ubi sociorum equites 48
adversus Numidas steterant, consertum prœlium erat, segne primo et a Punica cœptum fraude. Quingenti 2
ferme Numidæ, præter solita arma telaque gladios occultos sub loricis habentes, specie transfugarum quum ab suis parmas post terga habentes adequitassent, re- 3
pente ex equis desiliunt, parmisque et iaculis ante pedes hostium proiectis, in mediam aciem accepti ductique ad ultimos considere ab tergo iubentur. Ac dum prœlium ab omni parte conseritur, quieti manserunt; postquam omnium animos oculosque occupaverat cer- 4
tamen, tum arreptis scutis, quæ passim inter acervos cæsorum corporum strata erant, aversam adoriuntur Romanam aciem, tergaque ferientes ac poplites cædentes stragem ingentem ac maiorem aliquanto pavorem ac

5 tumultum fecerunt. Quum alibi terror ac fuga, alibi pertinax in mala iam spe prœlium esset, Hasdrubal, qui ea parte præerat, subductos ex media acie Numidas, quia segnis eorum cum adversis pugna erat, ad per-
6 sequendos passim fugientes mittit, Hispanos et Gallos equites Afris prope iam fessis cæde magis quam pugna adiungit.

49 Parte altera pugnæ Paulus, quanquam primo statim
2 prœlio funda graviter ictus fuerat, tamen et occurrit sæpe cum confertis Hannibali et aliquot locis prœlium restituit, prote-

and completely defeated with the loss of Paulus and nearly all the army.

3 gentibus eum equitibus Romanis, omissis postremo equis, quia consulem et ad regendum equum vires deficiebant. Tum renuntianti cuidam, iussisse consulem ad pedes descendere equites, dixisse Hannibalem fe-
4 runt: "Quam mallem, vinctos mihi traderet." Equitum pedestre prœlium, quale iam haud dubia hostium victoria, fuit, quum victi mori in vestigio mallent quam fugere, victores morantibus victoriam irati trucidarent,
5 quos pellere non poterant. Pepulerunt tamen iam paucos superantes et labore ac vulneribus fessos. Inde dissipati omnes sunt, equosque ad fugam, qui poterant,
6 repetebant. Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum quum prætervehens equo sedentem in saxo cruore oppletum
7 consulem vidisset, "L. Æmili" inquit, "quem unum insontem culpæ cladis hodiernæ dei respicere debent, cape hunc equum, dum et tibi virium aliquid superest
8 *et* comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere. Ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris; etiam sine
9 hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est." Ad ea consul: "Tu quidem, Cn. Corneli, macte virtute esto; sed cave, frustra miserando exiguum tempus e manibus hostium

evadendi absumas. Abi, nuntia publice patribus, ur- 10
bem Romanam muniant ac, priusquam hostis victor
advenit, præsidiis firment; privatim Q. Fabio, L.
Æmilium præceptorum eius memorem et vixisse adhuc
et mori. Me in hac strage militum meorum patere ex- 11
spirare, ne aut reus iterum e consulatu sim aut accu-
sator collegæ existam, ut alieno crimine innocentiam
meam protegam." Hæc eos agentes prius turba fu- 12
gientium civium, deinde hostes oppressere; consulem
ignorantes, quis esset, obruere telis, Lentulum inter
tumultum abripuit equus. Tum undique effuse fugi- 13
unt. Septem millia hominum in minora castra, decem
in maiora, duo ferme in vicum ipsum Cannas perfu-
gerunt, qui extemplo a Carthalone atque equitibus,
nullo munimento tegente vicum, circumventi sunt.
Consul alter, seu forte seu consilio nulli fugientium 14
insertus agmini, cum quinquaginta fere equitibus Ve-
nusiam perfugit. Quadraginta quinque millia quin- 15
genti pedites, duo millia septingenti equites, †et tanta
prope civium sociorumque pars, cæsi dicuntur; in his
ambo consulum quæstores, L. Atilius et L. Furius
Bibaculus, et undetriginta tribuni militum, consulares 16
quidam prætoriique et ædilicii (inter eos Cn. Servilium
Geminum et M. Minucium numerant, qui magister
equitum priore anno, aliquot annis ante *consul* fuerat), 17
octoginta præterea aut senatores aut qui eos magis-
tratus gessissent, unde in senatum legi deberent, quum
sua voluntate milites in legionibus facti essent. Capta 18
eo prœlio tria millia peditum et equites mille et quin-
genti dicuntur.

Hæc est pugna *Cannensis*, Aliensi cladi nobilitate 50
par, ceterum ut illis, quæ post pugnam accidere, levior, 2

quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus gravior
3 fœdiorque. Fuga namque ad Aliam sicut urbem pro-
didit, ita exercitum servavit; ad Cannas fugientem
consulem vix quinquaginta secuti sunt, alterius mori-
entis prope totus exercitus fuit.

Some of the survivors make their way to Canusium,

4 Binis in castris quum multitudo semiermis sine
ducibus esset, nuntium, qui in maioribus
erant, mittunt, dum prœlio, deinde ex
lætitia epulis fatigatos quies nocturna hostes premeret,
ut ad se transirent: uno agmine Canusium abituros
5 esse. Eam sententiam alii totam aspernari; cur enim
illos, qui se arcessant, ipsos non venire, quum æque
coniungi possent? quia videlicet plena hostium omnia
in medio essent, et aliorum quam sua corpora tanto
6 periculo mallent obiicere. Aliis non tam sententia
displicere quam animus deesse. P. Sempronius Tudi-
tanus tribunus militum "Capi ergo mavultis" inquit
"ab avarissimo et crudelissimo hoste, æstimarique
capita vestra et exquiri pretia ab interrogantibus, Ro-
manus civis sis an Latinus socius, ut ex tua contu-
7 melia et miseria alteri honos quæratur? Non tu, si
quidem L. Æmilii consulis, qui se bene mori quam
turpiter vivere maluit, et tot fortissimorum virorum,
8 qui circa eum cumulati iacent, cives estis. Sed ante-
quam opprimit lux maioraque hostium agmina obsæ-
piunt iter, per hos, qui inordinati atque incompositi
9 obstrepunt portis, erumpamus. Ferro atque audacia
via fit quamvis per confertos hostes. Cuneo quidem
hoc laxum atque solutum agmen, ut si nihil obstet,
disiicias. Itaque ite mecum, qui et vosmet ipsos et
10 rem publicam salvam vultis." Hæc ubi dicta dedit,
stringit gladium, cuneoque facto per medios vadit hos-

tes, et, quum in latus dextrum, quod patebat, Numidæ 11
iacularentur, translatis in dextrum scutis, in maiora
castra ad sexcentos evaserunt, atque inde protinus,
alio magno agmine adiuncto, Canusium incolumes per-
veniunt. Hæc apud victos magis impetu animorum, 12
quem ingenium suum cuique aut fors dabat, quam ex
consilio ipsorum aut imperio cuiusquam agebantur.

Hannibali victori quum ceteri circumfusi gratula- 51
rentur suaderentque, ut, tanto perfunctus
bello, diei quod reliquum esset noctisque
insequentis quietem et ipse sibi sumeret et fessis daret
militibus, Maharbal præfectus equitum, minime ces- 2
sandum ratus, "Immo ut, quid hac pugna sit actum,
scias, die quinto," inquit "victor in Capitolio epula-
beris. Sequere; cum equite, ut prius venisse quam
venturum sciant, præcedam." Hannibali nimis læta 3
res est visa maiorque, quam ut eam statim capere animo
posset. Itaque voluntatem se laudare Maharbalis ait;
ad consilium pensandum temporis opus esse. Tum 4
Maharbal: "Non omnia nimirum eidem di dedere.
Vincere scis, Hannibal; victoria uti nescis." Mora
eius diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio.

while the conquerors rest after their labour.

Postero die, ubi primum illuxit, ad spolia legenda 5
fœdamque etiam hostibus spectandam stragem exeunt.
Iacebant tot Romanorum millia, pedites passim equi- 6
tesque, ut quem cuique fors aut pugna iunxerat aut
fuga; assurgentes quidam ex strage media cruenti,
quos stricta matutino frigore excitaverant vulnera, ab
hoste oppressi sunt; quosdam et iacentes vivos succisis 7
feminibus poplitibusque invenerunt, nudantes cervi-
cem iugulumque et reliquum sanguinem iubentes hau-
rire; inventi quidam sunt mersis in effossam terram 8

capitibus, quos sibi ipsos fecisse foveas obruentesque ora superiecta humo interclusisse spiritum apparebat.
9 Præcipue convertit omnes substratus Numida mortuo superincubanti Romano vivus, naso auribusque laceratis, quum, manibus ad capiendum telum inutilibus, in rabiem ira versa, laniando dentibus hostem exspirasset.

52 Spoliis ad multum diei lectis, Hannibal ad minora ducit castra oppugnanda, et omnium primum brachio obiecto flumine eos excludit;

Some surrender the next day in their camp where they had taken refuge.

2 ceterum ab omnibus labore, vigiliis, vulneribus etiam fessis maturior ipsius spe deditio est facta. Pacti, ut arma atque equos traderent, in capita Romana trecenis nummis quadrigatis, in socios duce-
3 nis, in servos centenis, et ut eo pretio persoluto cum singulis abirent vestimentis, in castra hostes acceperunt, traditique in custodiam omnes sunt, seorsum
4 cives sociique. Dum ibi tempus teritur, interea quum ex maioribus castris, quibus satis virium et animi fuit, ad quattuor millia hominum et ducenti equites, alii agmine, alii palati passim per agros, quod haud minus tutum erat, Canusium perfugissent, castra ipsa ab sauciis timidisque eadem condicione, qua altera, tradita
5 hosti. Præda ingens parta est, et præter equos virosque et si quid argenti (quod plurimum in phaleris equorum erat; nam ad vescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, utebantur) omnis cetera præda diri-
6 pienda data est. Tum sepeliendi causa conferri in unum corpora suorum iussit; ad octo millia fuisse dicuntur fortissimorum virorum. Consulem quoque Romanum conquisitum sepultumque, quidam auctores sunt.

7 Eos, qui Canusium perfugerant, mulier Apula

nomine Busa, genere clara ac divitiis, mœnibus tan-
tum tectisque a Canusinis acceptos, frumento, veste,
viatico etiam iuvit, pro qua ei munificentia postea,
bello perfecto, ab senatu honores habiti sunt. Cete- 53
rum quum ibi tribuni militum quattuor essent, Fabius
Maximus de legione prima, cuius pater
priore anno dictator fuerat, et de legione 2
secunda L. Publicius Bibulus et P. Cor-
nelius Scipio et de legione tertia App.

Projects of emigration among the young nobles at Canusium are checked by the energy of P. Cornelius Scipio.

Claudius Pulcher, qui proxime ædilis fuerat, omnium 3
consensu ad P. Scipionem admodum *adolescentem et ad*
App. Claudium summa imperii delata est. Quibus 4
consultantibus inter paucos de summa rerum nuntiat
P. Furius Philus, consularis viri filius, nequicquam
eos perditam spem fovere; desperatam comploratam-
que rem esse publicam; nobiles iuvenes quosdam, 5
quorum principem L. Cæcilium Metellum, mare ac
naves spectare, ut deserta Italia ad regum aliquem
transfugiant. Quod malum, præterquam atrox, super 6
tot clades etiam novum, quum stupore ac miraculo
torpidos defixisset, qui aderant, et consilium advocan-
dum de eo censerent, negat consilii rem esse Scipio
iuvenis, fatalis dux huiusce belli. Audendum atque 7
agendum, non consultandum ait in tanto malo esse.
Irent secum extemplo armati, qui rem publicam sal-
vam vellent; nulla verius, quam ubi ea cogitentur, 8
hostium castra esse. Pergit ire sequentibus paucis in 9
hospitium Metelli et, quum concilium ibi iuvenum, de
quibus allatum erat, invenisset, stricto super capita
consultantium gladio, "Ex mei animi sententia" in- 10
quit, "ut ego rem publicam populi Romani non dese-
ram neque alium civem Romanum deserere patiar; si 11

sciens fallo, tum me, Iuppiter optime maxime, domum,
12 familiam remque meam pessimo leto afficias. In hæc
verba, L. Cæcili, iures postulo ceterique, qui adestis.
Qui non iuraverit, in se hunc gladium strictum esse
13 sciat." Haud secus pavidi, quam si victorem Hanni-
balem cernerent, iurant omnes custodiendosque semet
ipsos Scipioni tradunt.

Varro and the stragglers at Venusia rejoin their comrades at Canusium.

54 Eo tempore, quo hæc Canusii agebantur, Venusiam
ad consulem ad quattuor millia et quin-
genti pedites equitesque, qui sparsi fuga
2 per agros fuerant, pervenere. Eos omnes
Venusini per familias benigne accipiendos curandosque
quum divisissent, in singulos equites togas et tunicas
et quadrigatos nummos quinos vicenos, et pediti denos,
3 et arma, quibus deerant, dederunt, ceteraque publice
ac privatim hospitaliter facta certatumque, ne a mu-
liere Canusina populus Venusinus officiis vinceretur.
4 Sed gravius onus Busæ multitudo faciebat; et iam ad
decem millia hominum erant, Appiusque et Scipio
postquam incolumem esse alterum consulem accepe-
runt, nuntium extemplo mittunt, quantæ secum pedi-
tum equitumque copiæ essent, sciscitatumque simul,
utrum Venusiam adduci exercitum an manere iuberet
6 Canusii. Varro ipse Canusium copias traduxit; et
iam aliqua species consularis exercitus erat mœnibus-
que se certe, si non armis, ab hoste videbantur defen-
suri.

The panic at Rome was unexampled.

7 Romam ne has quidem reliquias superesse civium
sociorumque, sed occidione occisum cum
duobus *consulibus* exercitum deletasque
8 omnes copias allatum fuerat. Nunquam salva urbe
tantum pavoris tumultusque intra mœnia Romana

fuit. Itaque succumbam oneri neque aggrediar narrare, quæ edissertando minora vero faciam. Consule 9
exercituque ad Trasumennum priore anno amisso, non vulnus super vulnus, sed multiplex clades, cum duobus consulibus duo consulares exercitus amissi nuntiabantur, nec ulla iam castra Romana nec ducem nec militem esse; Hannibalis Apuliam, Samnium ac iam 10
prope totam Italiam factam. Nulla profecto alia gens tanta mole cladis non obruta esset. Compares *scilicet* 11
cladem ad Ægates insulas Carthaginiensium prœlio navali acceptam, qua fracti Sicilia ac Sardinia cessere *et* vectigales ac stipendiarios fieri se passi sunt, aut pugnam adversam in Africa, cui postea hic ipse Hannibal succubuit; nulla ex parte comparandæ sunt, nisi quod minore animo latæ sunt.

The senate deliberates in the midst of universal mourning and confusion,

P. Furius Philus et M'. Pomponius prætores sena- 55
tum in curiam Hostiliam vocaverunt, ut de urbis custodia consulerent; neque 2
enim dubitabant, deletis exercitibus hostem ad oppugnandam Romam, quod unum opus belli restaret, venturum. Quum in malis sicuti ingentibus, 3
ita ignotis ne consilium quidem satis expedirent, obstreperetque clamor lamentantium mulierum et, nondum palamfacto, vivi mortuique per omnes pæne domos promiscue complorarentur, tum Q. Fabius Maximus 4
censuit, equites expeditos et Appia et Latina via mittendos, qui obvios percontando (aliquos profecto ex fuga passim dissipatos fore) referant, quæ fortuna consulum atque exercituum sit et, si quid dii immortales, 5
miseriti imperii, reliquum Romani nominis fecerint, ubi eæ copiæ sint; quo se Hannibal post prœlium contulerit, quid paret, quid agat acturusque sit. Hæc 6

exploranda noscendaque per impigros iuvenes esse; illud per patres ipsos agendum, quoniam magistratuum parum sit, ut tumultum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant, matronas publico arceant contínerique intra
7 suum quamque limen cogant, comploratus familiarum coerceant, silentium per urbem faciant, nuntios rerum omnium ad prætores deducendos curent, suæ quisque
8 fortunæ domi auctorem exspectent, custodesque præterea ad portas ponant, qui prohibeant quemquam egredi urbe, cogantque homines nullam nisi urbe ac mœnibus salvis salutem sperare. Ubi conticuerit tumultus, tum in curiam patres revocandos consulendumque de urbis custodia esse.

56 Quum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes issent, summotaque foro *per* magistratus turba, patres diversi ad sedandos tumultus dis-cessissent, tum demum litteræ a C. Te-
2 rentio consule allatæ sunt: L. Æmilium consulem exercitumque cæsum; sese Canusii esse, reliquias tantæ cladis velut ex naufragio colligentem; ad decem millia militum ferme esse incompositorum inordinatorumque;
3 Pœnum sedere ad Cannas, in captivorum pretiis prædaque alia nec victoris animo nec magni ducis more
4 nundinantem. Tum privatæ quoque per domos clades vulgatæ sunt, adeoque totam urbem opplevit luctus, ut sacrum anniversarium Cereris intermissum sit, quia nec lugentibus id facere est fas nec ulla in illa tem-
5 pestate matrona expers luctus fuerat. Itaque ne ob eandem causam alia quoque sacra publica aut privata desererentur, senatus consulto diebus triginta luctus
6 est finitus. Ceterum quum, sedato urbis tumultu, revocati in curiam patres essent, aliæ insuper ex Sicilia

and receives letters from Varro and news of danger and distress from Sicily.

litteræ allatæ sunt ab T. Otacilio proprætore, regnum Hieronis classe Punica vastari; cui quum opem im- 7
ploranti ferre vellet, nuntiatum sibi esse, aliam classem ad Ægates insulas stare paratam instructamque, ut, ubi se versum ad tuendam Syracusanam oram Pœni 8
sensissent, Lilybæum extemplo provinciamque aliam Romanam aggrederentur; itaque classe opus esse, si regem socium Siciliamque tueri vellent.

Litteris consulis prætorisque *lectis, censuerunt præ-* 57
torem M. Claudium, qui classi ad Ostiam stanti præesset, Canusium ad exercitum mittendum, scribendumque consuli, ut, quum prætori exercitum tradidisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum rei publicæ fieri posset, Romam veniret. Territi etiam super tantas 2
clades quum ceteris prodigiis, tum quod duæ Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Floronia, stupri compertæ et altera sub terra, uti mos est, ad portam Collinam necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa mortem consciverat; L. 3
Cantilius scriba pontificis, quos nunc minores pontifices appellant, qui cum Floronia stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in comitio cæsus erat, ut inter verbera exspiraret. Hoc nefas quum inter tot, ut fit, 4
clades in prodigium versum esset, decemviri libros adire iussi sunt, et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oracu- 5
lum missus est sciscitatum, quibus precibus suppliciisque deos possent placare, et quænam futura finis tantis cladibus foret. Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia 6
aliquot extraordinaria facta, inter quæ Gallus et Galla, Græcus et Græca in foro boario sub terram vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo consæptum, iam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum.

Under the pressure of religious fear they resort to human sacrifice.

7 Placatis satis, ut rebantur, deis M. Claudius Marcellus ab Ostia mille et quingentos milites, quos in classem scriptos habebat, Romam, ut urbi præsidio essent, mittit; ipse, legione classica (ea legio tertia erat) cum tribunis militum Teanum Sidicinum præmissa, classe tradita P. Furio Philo collegæ, paucos post dies Canusium magnis

M. Claudius Marcellus takes command at Canusium;

9 itineribus contendit. Inde dictator ex auctoritate patrum dictus M. Iunius et T. Sempronius magister equitum, dilectu edicto, iuniores ab annis septendecim et quosdam prætextatos scribunt; quattuor ex his legiones et mille

a dictator raises fresh levies, including in them even slaves.

10 equites effecti. Item ad socios Latinumque nomen ad milites ex formula accipiendos mittunt. Arma, tela, alia parari iubent et vetera spolia hostium detrahunt

11 templis porticibusque. Et aliam formam novi dilectus inopia liberorum capitum ac necessitas dedit; octo millia iuvenum validorum ex servitiis, prius sciscitantes singulos, vellentne militare, empta publice armaverunt.

12 Hic miles magis placuit, quum pretio minore redimendi captivos copia fieret.

58 Namque Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad Cannas pugnam victoris magis quam bel-

2 lum gerentis intentus curis, quum, captivis productis segregatisque, socios, sicut ante ad Trebiam Trasumennumque lacum, benigne allocutus sine pretio dimisisset, Romanos quoque vocatos, quod nun-

Hannibal offers terms of ransom to the prisoners

3 quam alias antea, satis miti sermone alloquitur: non internecivum sibi esse cum Romanis bellum; de dignitate atque imperio certare. Et patres virtuti Romanæ cessisse et se id anniti, ut suæ in vicem simul

4 felicitati et virtuti cedatur. Itaque redimendi se cap-

tivis copiam facere; pretium fore in capita equiti quin-
genos quadrigatos nummos, trecenos pediti, servo cen-
tenos. Quanquam aliquantum adiiciebatur equitibus 5
ad id pretium, quo pepigerant dedentes se, læti tamen
quamcunque condicionem paciscendi acceperunt. Pla- 6
cuit suffragio ipsorum decem deligi, qui
Romam ad senatum irent, nec pignus
aliud fidei, quam ut iurarent se redituros, acceptum.
Missus cum his Carthalo, nobilis Carthaginiensis, qui, 7
si forte ad pacem inclinaret animus, condiciones ferret.
Quum egressi castris essent, unus ex iis, minime Ro- 8
mani ingenii homo, veluti aliquid oblitus, iuris iurandi
solvendi causa quum in castra redisset, ante noctem
comites assequitur. Ubi Romam venire eos nuntiatum 9
est, Carthaloni obviam lictor missus, qui dictatoris
verbis nuntiaret, ut ante noctem excederet finibus Ro-
manis. Legatis captivorum senatus ab 59
dictatore datus est, quorum princeps M.
Iunius "Patres conscripti" inquit, "nemo
nostrum ignorat, nulli unquam civitati viliores fuisse
captivos quam nostræ; ceterum, nisi nobis plus iusto 2
nostra placet causa, non alii unquam minus negligendi
vobis quam nos in hostium potestatem venerunt. Non 3
enim in acie per timorem arma tradidimus, sed, quum
prope ad noctem superstantes cumulis cæsorum cor-
porum prœlium extraxissemus, in castra recipimus nos;
diei reliquum ac noctem insequentem, fessi labore ac 4
vulneribus, vallum sumus tutati; postero die, quum 5
circumsessi ab exercitu victore aqua arceremur, nec
ulla iam per confertos hostes erumpendi spes esset, nec
esse nefas duceremus, quinquaginta millibus hominum
ex acie nostra trucidatis, aliquem ex Cannensi pugna

and lets ten go to Rome to ask for funds,

one of whom M. Iunius pleads with the senate for them.

6 Romanum militem restare, tunc demum pacti sumus
pretium, quo redempti dimitteremur, arma in quibus
7 nihil iam auxilii erat, hosti tradidimus. Maiores quo-
que acceperamus se a Gallis auro redemisse, et patres
vestros, asperrimos illos ad condiciones pacis, legatos
tamen captivorum redimendorum gratia Tarentum
8 misisse. Atqui et ad Aliam cum Gallis et ad Hera-
cleam cum Pyrrho utraque non tam clade infamis
quam pavore et fuga pugna fuit. Cannenses campos
acervi Romanorum corporum tegunt, nec supersumus
pugnæ, nisi in quibus trucidandis et ferrum et vires
9 hostem defecerunt. Sunt etiam de nostris quidam, qui
ne in acie quidem fuerunt, sed præsidio castris relicti,
quum castra traderentur, in potestatem hostium ve-
10 nerunt. Haud equidem ullius civis et commilitonis
fortunæ aut condicioni invideo, nec premendo alium
me extulisse velim: ne illi quidem, nisi pernicitatis
pedum et cursus aliquod præmium est, qui plerique
inermes ex acie fugientes non prius quam Venusiæ aut
Canusii constiterunt, se nobis merito prætulerint glori-
atique sint, in se plus quam in nobismet præsidii rei
11 publicæ esse. Sed et illis bonis ac fortibus militibus
utemini et nobis etiam promptioribus pro patria, quod
beneficio vestro redempti atque in patriam restituti
12 fuerimus. Dilectum ex omni ætate et fortuna habetis;
octo millia servorum audio armari. Non minor nu-
merus noster est, nec maiore pretio redimi possumus,
quam ii emuntur; nam si conferam nos cum illis, iniu-
13 riam nomini Romano faciam. Illud etiam in tali con-
silio animadvertendum vobis censeam, patres conscripti,
si iam duriores esse velitis, quod nullo nostro merito
14 faciatis, cui nos hosti relicturi sitis. Pyrrho videlicet,

qui hospitum numero captivos habuit? An barbaro ac Pœno, qui utrum avarior an crudelior sit, vix existimari potest? Si videatis catenas, squalorem, defor- 15
mitatem civium vestrorum, non minus profecto vos ea species moveat, quam si ex altera parte cernatis stratas Cannensibus campis legiones vestras. Intueri potestis 16
sollicitudinem et lacrimas in vestibulo curiæ stantium cognatorum nostrorum exspectantiumque responsum vestrum. Quum ii pro nobis proque iis, qui absunt, ita suspensi ac solliciti sint, quem censetis animum ipsorum esse, quorum in discrimine vita libertasque est? Si, mediusfidius, ipse in nos mitis Hannibal contra na- 17
turam suam esse velit, nihil tamen nobis vita opus esse censeamus, quum indigni ut redimeremur [a] vobis visi simus. Rediere Romam quondam remissi a Pyrrho 18
sine pretio capti; sed rediere cum legatis, primoribus civitatis, ad redimendos sese missis. Redeam ego in patriam trecentis nummis non æstimatus civis? Suum quisque *habet* animum, patres conscripti. Scio, in dis- 19
crimine esse vitam corpusque meum; magis me famæ periculum movet, ne a vobis damnati ac repulsi abeamus; neque enim vos pretio pepercisse homines credent."

Ubi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba, quæ in 60
comitio erat, clamor flebilis est sublatus, manusque ad curiam tendebant orantes, ut sibi liberos, fratres, cognatos redderent. Feminas quoque metus ac neces- 2
sitas in foro turbæ virorum immiscuerat. Senatus summotis arbitris consuli cœptus. Ibi quum sententiis 3
variaretur, et alii redimendos de publico, alii nullam publice impensam faciendam nec prohibendos ex privato redimi; si quibus argentum in præsentia deesset, 4
dandam ex ærario pecuniam mutuam prædibusque ac

But T. Manlius Torquatus protests against ransoming men who had so tamely surrendered when others cut their way out of the camp.

5 prædiis cavendum populo censerent, tum T. Manlius
Torquatus, priscæ ac nimis duræ, ut pleris-
que videbatur, severitatis, interrogatus
6 sententiam ita locutus fertur: Si tantum-
modo postulassent legati pro iis, qui in
hostium potestate sunt, ut redimerentur,
sine ullius insectatione eorum brevi sententiam pere-
7 gissem; quid enim aliud quam admonendi essetis, ut
morem traditum a patribus necessario ad rem mili-
tarem exemplo servaretis? Nunc autem, quum prope
gloriati sint, quod se hostibus dediderint, præferrique
se non captis modo in acie ab hostibus, sed etiam iis,
qui Venusiam Canusiumque pervenerunt, atque ipsi
C. Terentio consuli æquum censuerint, nihil vos eorum,
patres conscripti, quæ illic acta sunt, ignorare patiar.
8 Atque utinam hæc, quæ apud vos acturus sum, Canusii
apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum testem igna-
viæ cuiusque et virtutis, aut unus hic saltem adesset
P. Sempronius, quem si isti ducem secuti essent, milites
hodie in castris Romanis, non captivi in hostium potes-
9 tate essent. Sed quum, fessis pugnando hostibus, tum
victoria lætis et ipsis plerisque regressis in castra sua,
noctem ad erumpendum liberam habuissent, et septem
millia armatorum hominum erumpere etiam *per* con-
fertos hostes possent, neque per se ipsi id facere conati
10 sunt neque alium sequi voluerunt. Nocte prope tota
P. Sempronius Tuditanus non destitit monere, adhor-
tari eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra, dum quies
ac silentium esset, dum nox inceptum tegere posset, se
ducem sequerentur: ante lucem pervenire in tuta loca,
11 in sociorum urbes posse. Si, ut avorum memoria P.
Decius tribunus militum in Samnio, si, ut nobis adoles-

centibus priore Punico bello Calpurnius Flamma trecentis voluntariis, quum ad tumulum eos capiendum situm inter medios duceret hostes, dixit 'Moriamur, milites, et morte nostra eripiamus ex obsidione circumventas legiones,' si hoc P. Sempronius diceret, nec 12
viros equidem nec Romanos vos ducerem, si nemo tantæ virtutis exstitisset comes. Viam non ad gloriam 13
magis quam ad salutem ferentem demonstrat; reduces in patriam ad parentes, ad coniuges ac liberos facit. Ut servemini, deest vobis animus: quid, si moriendum 14
pro patria esset, faceretis? Quinquaginta millia civium sociorumque circa vos eo ipso die cæsa iacent. Si tot exempla virtutis non movent, nihil unquam movebit; si tanta clades vilem vitam non fecit, nulla faciet. Liberi atque incolumes desiderate patriam; immo desi- 15
derate, dum patria est, dum cives eius estis! sero nunc desideratis, deminuti capite, abalienato iure civium, servi Carthaginiensium facti. Pretio redituri estis eo, 16
unde ignavia ac nequitia abistis? P.Sempronium civem vestrum non audistis arma capere ac sequi se iubentem; Hannibalem post paulo audistis castra prodi et arma tradi iubentem. Quan*quam* ego ignaviam istorum ac- 17
cuso, quum scelus possim accusare. Non modo enim sequi recusarunt bene monentem, sed obsistere ac retinere conati sunt, ni strictis gladiis viri fortissimi inertes summovissent. Prius, inquam, P. Sempronio per civium agmen quam per hostium fuit erumpendum. Hos cives patria desideret, quorum si ceteri similes 18
fuissent, neminem hodie ex iis, qui ad Cannas pugnaverunt, civem haberet? Ex millibus septem arma- 19
torum sexcenti exstiterunt, qui erumpere auderent, qui in patriam liberi atque armati redirent, neque his sex-

20 centis hostes obstitere; quam tutum iter duarum prope
legionum agmini futurum censetis fuisse? Haberetis
hodie viginti millia armatorum Canusii fortia, fidelia,
patres conscripti. Nunc autem quemadmodum hi boni
fideles que (nam 'fortes' ne ipsi quidem dixerint) cives
21 esse possunt? Nisi quis credere potest, aut favisse
erumpentibus, qui, ne erumperent, obsistere conati
sunt, aut non invidere eos quum incolumitati, tum
gloriæ illorum per virtutem partæ, quum sibi timorem
ignaviamque servitutis ignominiosæ causam esse sciant.
22 Maluerunt in tentoriis latentes simul lucem atque hos-
tem exspectare, quum silentio noctis erumpendi oc-
casio esset. *At* ad erumpendum e castris defuit animus,
23 ad tutanda fortiter castra animum habuerunt; dies noc-
tesque aliquot obsessi vallum armis, se ipsi tutati vallo
sunt; tandem ultima ausi passique, quum omnia sub-
sidia vitæ deessent affectisque fame viribus arma iam
sustinere nequirent, necessitatibus magis humanis quam
24 armis victi sunt. Orto sole hostis ad vallum accessit;
ante secundam horam, nullam fortunam certaminis ex-
25 perti, tradiderunt arma ac se ipsos. Hæc vobis istorum
per biduum militia fuit. Quum *in* acie stare ac pug-
nare decuerat, tum in castra refugerunt; quum pro
vallo pugnandum erat, castra tradiderunt, neque in
26 acie neque in castris utiles. Et vos redimam? Quum
erumpere *e* castris oportet, cunctamini ac manetis;
quum manere *et* castra tutari armis necesse est, et cas-
27 tra et arma et vos ipsos traditis hosti. Ego non magis
istos redimendos, patres conscripti, censeo, quam illos
dedendos Hannibali, qui per medios hostes e castris
eruperunt ac per summam virtutem se patriæ resti-
tuerunt."

Postquam Manlius dixit, quanquam patrum quo- 61
que plerosque captivi cognatione attinge-
bant, præter exemplum civitatis minime
in captivos iam inde antiquitus indulgen-

The senate refuses to pay for the ransom of the captives,

tis, pecuniæ quoque summa homines movit, quia nec 2
ærarium exhaurire, magna iam summa erogata in ser-
vos ad militiam emendos armandosque, nec Hanniba-
lem, maxime huiusce rei, ut fama erat, egentem, locu-
pletari volebant. Quum triste responsum, non redimi 3
captivos, redditum esset, novusque super veterem luc-
tus tot iactura civium adiectus esset, cum magnis
fletibus questibus*que* legatos ad portam prosecuti sunt.
Unus ex iis domum abiit, quod fallaci reditu in castra 4
iure iurando se exsolvisset. Quod ubi innotuit rela-
tumque ad senatum est, omnes censuerunt comprehen-
dendum et custodibus publice datis deducendum ad
Hannibalem esse.

Est et alia de captivis fama: decem primos venisse; 5
de eis quum dubitatum in senatu esset,
admitterentur in urbem necne, ita admis-

but the details of the story are variously described.

sos esse, ne tamen iis senatus daretur; morantibus 6
deinde longius omnium spe, alios tres insuper legatos
venisse, L. Scribonium et C. Calpurnium et L. Man-
lium; tum demum ab cognato Scribonii tribuno plebis 7
de redimendis captivis relatum esse, nec censuisse
redimendos senatum; et novos legatos tres ad Hanni-
balem revertisse, decem veteres remansisse, quod per 8
causam recognoscendi nomina captivorum ad Hanni-
balem ex itinere regressi religione sese exsolvissent;
de iis dedendis magna contentione actum in senatu
esse, victosque paucis sententiis, qui dedendos censu-
erint; ceterum proximis censoribus adeo omnibus notis 9

ignominiisque confectos esse, ut quidam eorum mortem
sibi ipsi extemplo consciverint, ceteri non foro solum
omni deinde vita, sed prope luce ac publico caruerint.
10 Mirari magis, adeo discrepare inter auctores, quam,
quid veri sit, discernere queas.

The Romans hear of revolt among their allies on all sides but will not think of making peace.

Quanto autem maior ea clades superioribus cladi-
bus fuerit, vel ea res indicio *est, quod*
*fides socio*rum, quæ ad eam diem firma
steterat, tum labare cœpit, nulla profecto
alia de re quam quod desperaverant de
11 imperio. Defecere autem ad Pœnos hi populi: Atellani,
Calatini, Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites præter
12 Pentros, Bruttii omnes, Lucani, præter hos Uzentini,
et Græcorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini, Metapontini,
13 Crotonienses Locrique, et Cisalpini omnes Galli. Nec
tamen eæ clades defectionesque sociorum moverunt, ut
pacis usquam mentio apud Romanos fieret, neque ante
consulis Romam adventum nec postquam is rediit
14 renovavitque memoriam acceptæ cladis; quo in tem-
pore ipso adeo magno animo civitas fuit, ut consuli

Varro on his return is met, not with reproaches, but with thanks for not despairing of the commonwealth.

ex tanta clade, cuius ipse causa maxima
fuisset, redeunti et obviam itum frequen-
ter ab omnibus ordinibus sit et gratiæ
actæ, quod de re publica non desperasset;
15 qui *si* Carthaginiensium ductor fuisset, nihil recusan-
dum supplicii foret.

NOTES.

BOOK XXI.

P. 1, c. I. § 1. **In parte operis.** Livy's work in nearly 150 books covered the whole history of Republican Rome; books XXI.—XXX. dealt with the Second Punic War.

summæ totius = τῆς ὅλης συντάξεως of Polybius. Cf. Lucr. I. 983, *spatium summai totius omne.* Cic. Qu. fr. III. 5. 5, *in omni summa. Summa* is often used substantively in Livy, and with a genitive as *summa rerum, imperii, spei, rei bellicæ, rei publicæ.* Cf. *Vitæ summa brevis,* Hor. Carm. I. 4. 15, and *hodiernæ summæ,* IV. 7. 17.

rerum scriptores. For the historians who wrote specially on this war see the Introduction on the Authorities, but cf. also the beginning of Thucydides, who calls the Peloponnesian War *μέγαν τε καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων.*

unquam, though properly used in negative sentences, is employed at times with *si* to increase the indefiniteness of the statement, and even absolutely when the indefiniteness is to be made still more emphatic. Cf. use of *quisquam* Seneca de tranquil. 11, *cuivis potest accidere quod cuiquam potest.*

Hannibale. The name meant in Punic 'favour of Baal,' Schröder Phœn. Sprache p. 87. The 2nd *a* was long in Ennius and in the speech of the earlier Romans (Aul. Gell. IV. 7) as in Hasdrubal, Hamilcar, but became shortened in familiar use, just as the aspirate which had at first the Punic sound of *ch,* was softened, and often dropped completely, as in the Greek, Ἀννίβας. Corssen Aussprache der Lat. Spr. I. 99.

§ 2. **virium aut roboris,** 'resources or endurance.' Polyb. II. 24 estimates the armies which Rome could raise with the

Italian contingents as 700,000 foot and 70,000 horse. He asks the question I. 64 why in later days of empire she could no longer put such forces on the field.

inter sese, sed. Heerwagen notes that the alliteration was in such cases less displeasing to Roman than to modern ears, cf. Cic. opt. gen. or. 2. 6, *nec generibus inter sese sed facultatibus different.*

artes conserebant is formed on the analogy of *pugnam* or *manus conserere*. The reading *conferebant* found in some MSS. is approved by Ruperti and by Madvig as a more natural expression.

expertas primo Punico, i.e. each of the combatants had learnt its rival's skill by the experience of the first war. Yet the naval skill of Carthage was comparatively little used in the 2nd war, probably because the Barcine party had neglected the fleet. But Hamilcar had given proof of a genius like that of Hannibal in his power of welding into unity a motley host of various nationalities.

propius p. ... q. vicerunt. Rome, though victorious, was brought to the brink of ruin by the early successes of Hannibal. Muretus notes that Silius Italicus in the corresponding passage writes *propiusque fuere periclo | queis superare datum.* Livy elsewhere often uses the acc. as XXII. 40. 5, *propius Hannibalem,* IV. 17. 3, *propius fidem,* XXIII. 12. 4, *quo propius spem. vicerunt* here used absolutely, cf. XXIII. 13. 4, *quam* (*pacem*) *quum vincimus, dat nemo.*

§ 3. **ultro inferrent a.** 'should presume to attack.' Cf. I. 5. 2, *ultro accusantes*; of the robbers who accused Romulus of theft.

superbe, in threatening war and taking Sardinia; *avare* in raising the war indemnity by 1200 talents. Polyb. III. 10.

crederent does not properly balance *inferrent,* as it rather repeats than justifies the idea of the word *indignantibus,* and the subj. is due to a looseness of style as in Cic. Phil. II. 4, *at etiam literas, quas me sibi misisse diceret, recitavit homo.*

imperitatum. Livy has a special affection for frequentative forms, and often uses this one.

§ 4. **Fama est.** Polyb. III. 11 says that H. himself told this story to Antiochus in later days. Cf. Livy, XXXV. 19.

annorum novem. The gen. of the quality is here immediately connected with a proper name as in III. 27. 1, *L. Tarquinium patriciæ gentis*; XXII. 60. 5, *Torquatus priscæ severitatis.* Fabri.

blandientem, used in pregnant sense with *ut*, 'coaxingly entreating.' *Blandus* is connected by Bopp and Curtius with μείλιχος and μέλι, *mla* passing into *bla*, cf. the like change in the formation of βλίττειν, βροτός.

Hamilcari, a name meaning 'friend of Melcart.' Schröder, p. 87.

altaribus, a word used almost exclusively in the plural, though of a single altar (*ara*).

P. 2, § 5. **amissæ**, 'the loss of Sicily and S.' Cf. 16. 2, *pudor non lati auxilii*, and XXII. 34. 2, *ex dictatorio imperio concusso*. It is a form not used by Cicero, but very common in Tacitus, as Ann. I. 8, *Occisus Cæsar aliis pessimum, aliis pulcherrimum facinus visum*.

Sardinia said by Polybius to be νῆσος τῷ μεγέθει καὶ πολυανθρωπίᾳ καὶ τοῖς γεννήμασι διαφέρουσα. It seems never to have recovered its prosperity after its change of masters. On this and the following points referred to see the Introduction.

nam et Siciliam 'for *he felt* that S.' For the acc. in connexion with *angebant* Fabri compares I. 46. 6, *angebatur ferox Tullia, nihil materiæ in viro...esse*. His successes seemed to justify unwillingness to accept the terms of peace, yet Polyb. I. 62 says that Hamilcar felt the need of submission and conducted the negotiations.

desperatione r. It is common with Latin writers to add *rerum* where no equivalent is wanted in English, thus, *exitus*, *motus*, *inopia*, *ignoratio rerum*.

inter motum Afr. These are weak words for the formidable war of mercenaries which nearly ruined Carthage.

stipendio, the indemnity, cf. 3. 3. *Stipendium* seems to be put for *stipi-pendium* (*stips*), like *pauper* for *pauciper*, *anceps* for *ambiceps*, cf. *amputare*, *amplecti*, *selibra* (*semi*), *prudens* (*providens*).

insuper imposito, a poetic form; so 45. 1, *castellum insuper imponunt*, Verg. Æn. I. 61, *montes insuper altos imposuit*. Cf. Livy's use of compounds such as *superincubare*, *superinsternere*.

c. II. § 1. **anxius**, as explained by the *angebant* of I. 5.

sub recentem. *Sub* is used with the accus. for 'just after,' cf. VII. 31. 4, *sub hæc dicta omnes—procubuerunt*. So *sub vocem*. But *sub galli cantum*, *sub vesperum*, and *sub idem tempus* are less definite, and may be 'just before.' The passage in Verg. Georg. II. 211, *usque sub extremum brumæ intractabilis*

imbrem, is decisive for 'just before.' The mercenary war "which followed closely on the treaty with Rome," lasted three years and four months, Pol. I. 88. The five years of Livy probably cover the warlike movements against the Numidians mentioned by Diodorus.

novem annis, from 236 to 227 B.C. Note the change to the abl. after *quinque annos*.

in Hispania. The Phœnicians had in remote ages planted colonies on the coast of Spain, which fell in time under the influence of Carthage. The wealth of the mines tempted her to push her way further inland, but no great progress had been made till Hamilcar annexed much of the South, and changed the imperial policy of Carthage. The vast revenues of the mines and the hardy material for soldiers were the chief objects in view; like Cæsar, he went to conquer a province, and organize an army for future uses. It is curious to contrast the speedy conquests made by these generals with the slow progress of Rome in finally subduing Spain. In a later age the Arabs, of Semitic race possibly akin to that of Carthage, possessed themselves of Southern Spain, and attained to a high degree of power and culture, in the Moorish kingdoms of Cordova and Granada.

§ 2. **quæ.** Weissenborn and Fabri adopt the *qui* of the MSS. but it is a less probable reading.

ductu. The modal abl. of one of the verbal forms in the 4th decl. which are of frequent use in Livy. It is here employed to vary the *H. duce* of the line before.

§ 3. **Mors H.** He died in war with the Spanish tribes. Pol. II. 1.

peropportuna. Cf. VI. 1. 5, *mors adeo opportuna ut voluntariam magna pars crederet.*

distulerunt. For the use of this word Fabri compares XLIII. 1. 12, *metus de consule atque exercitu distulit muniendæ Aquileiæ curam.*

Hasdrubal means 'help of Baal,' Schröder, p. 100.

flore ætatis. Scandalous gossip probably circulated among the partisans of Hanno, the rival faction to that of the Barca family, so styled from the personal name, meaning lightning, of the great Hamilcar.

conciliatus, for this use cf. XXII. 34. 2, *hominem plebi insectatione principum conciliatum.*

§ 4. **plus quam modicæ.** Fabius Pictor (ap. Polyb. III. 8) stated that Hasdrubal returned to Carthage from Spain, with the design of making himself despot, but being opposed by the ἀξιόλογοι ἄνδρες, he returned to Spain, disregarding henceforth the authority of the senate, as did his successor Hannibal. This Polyb. regards as an idle effort of faction to throw all the odium of the war on the Barcine faction, which later history reflecting such jealousies of party calls an ἑταιρία τῶν πονηροτάτων ἀνθρώπων.

plebem...principum. See the Introduction for a sketch of the government of Carthage. Livy here, as elsewhere, employs technical Roman terms, as if the constitutional usages were the same.

haud sane. Cf. XXII. 19. 12. Livy does not seem to use *non sane.* Fabri.

§ 5. **hospitiis.** Formal contracts of friendly alliance were often entered into in the old world between persons, families and tribes, pledges of which were interchanged as ξύμβολα or *tesseræ.* Documents are still preserved in the inscriptions in which engagements of this kind are entered into or formally renewed, as in one where two Spanish clans (*gentilitates*) of the same tribe *hospitium vetustum antiquom renovaverunt eique omnes alis alium in fidem clientelamque suam suorumque liberorum posterorumque recepit.* One form lasted on in Greece in the προξενία which was largely used in commercial and religious intercourse. Corssen I. 796 explains *hospes* as a shortened form of *hosti-pe(t)s* = stranger-protecting from root *patis* = πόσις. As to the root *ghas-* from which he derives *hostis*, Mommsen, R. F. 326, regards it as simply = 'to eat.' Corssen says it is to 'tear' or 'wound.'

conciliandis. Hasd. according to Diodorus, 25. 17, married himself the daughter of one of the Sp. chieftains; *principes* may be distinguished from *reguli* as nobles from kings, as Weissenborn suggests.

§ 6. **nihilo tutior.** For the form of the phrase Fabri compares *nihilo accuratior* v. 37. 1, *nihilo quietior,* IX. 37. 1, *nihilo facilior,* XXXI. 26. 5.

ridentis speciem. Here as often Livy employs a partic. absolutely, where we should use a subst. Compare the Stoic firmness of some uncivilized races with the sensibilities of the Greeks of Homer.

præbuerit. The frequency of the subjunc. perf. in dependent sentences after *ut* is a peculiarity of Livy's style, as realizing more vividly the completed result.

§ 7. **Cum hoc Hasd.** To imply his practical independence of the government at Carthage.

sollicitandis. Connected with Oscan *sollus*=*totus*, ὅλος and *salvus*, so *sollistimus*, *sollemnis*, &c. Corssen, I. 486.

fœdus renov. Polyb. II. 13 gives details of the disquietude at Rome, and of the wish to attack the growing power in Spain, which was delayed only by the pressure of the Gallic war. As the Romans had no possessions in Spain, to define the limit of the Hiberus, and to stipulate for Saguntum, was in fact an insult to the sovereign power of Carthage. *Fœdus*=*foidus* is connected with *fides*, like πέποιθα with πίστις. Curtius, Gr. Etym. p. 236, rejects Mommsen's explanation from *fundere*, like σπονδή, *spondeo*.

ut, 'on condition that'=ἐφ' ᾧ, cf. Polyb., as it was a new stipulation added to the treaty of 241 B.C., but Pol. does not mention any provision for Saguntum.

P. 3, c. III. § 1. **In Hasdrubalis locum.** There is nothing in the sentence to correspond to these words. Something may have dropped out which referred to them, but more probably it is one of those cases of which Madvig speaks in his Kleine Phil. Schr. p. 359, where there is a want of balance and connexion in Livy's artificial periods. He specifies as examples I. 7. 7 and I. 46. 1. Fabri quotes as an example of Livy's anacolutha, XXVIII. 31. 1, *Lælius...auditis quæ acta Gadibus erant......nuntiis ad L. Marcium missis...redeundum ad imperatorem esse, adsentiente Marcio paucos post dies ambo Carthaginem rediere.*

quin...sequebatur. The MS. reading is here quite corrupt, especially in *quam*, where only *qua* is possible, and in the omission of the apodosis after *erat*. Drakenborch's reading *prærogativam...sequeretur* makes fair sense, but lays great stress on the popularity of Hannibal, who could hardly have been much known by the *plebs*, although the wealth of Spain may have been used to secure adherents at home, and Polybius says, ὁ δῆμος μιᾷ γνώμῃ κυρίαν ἐποίησε τὴν τῶν στρατοπέδων αἵρεσιν, III. 13.

prærogativa. A metaphor taken from the usage of the Roman comitia. The tribe on which the lot fell to vote first often influenced the vote of the wavering, and so the term carried associations of authority. Cf. III. 51. 5, *ne comitiorum militarium prærogativam sequerentur urbana comitia.*

prætorium. The tent of the Roman general, and so the head-quarters of the legion; hence applied to the palace of a governor, Ev. Matt. xxvii. 27, as also to the quarters of the

prætorian cohorts, Ep. ad Philipp. i. 13. *prætor = præitor*, 'first in rank,' is the oldest title of the chief magistrate of the republic. Cf. Ascon. in Cic. Verr. I. 14, *veteres omnem magistratum, cui pareret exercitus, prætorem appellaverunt. Unde et prætorium tabernaculum ejus dicitur, et in castris porta prætoria, et hodie quoque Præfectus Prætorio.* The term is here extended to Punic usage.

favor is said by Quintilian to have been thought a new word by Cicero, *favorem et urbanum Cicero nova credit*, II. 20. 10, though it was used by Lucretius, VI. 47. It was first probably applied to applause in the theatre, and Cicero speaks apologetically of his use of it. Or. pro Sestio 54, *qui rumore et, ut ipsi loquuntur, favore populi tenetur.*

§ 2. **vixdum puberem.** He was however about 23 years old, for he was nine when his father went to Spain for nine years, and he joined Hasdrubal after five of his eight years of rule were over. Cf. 2. 3 and 4. 10.

ad se accers. Yet 1. 4 implies that he went to Spain with Hamilcar. Probably here, as elsewhere, Livy reproduces distinct traditions. Cælius Antipater, in a passage quoted by Priscian, VIII. 960, seems to refer to H., *antequam Barca perierat alii rei causa in Africam est missus.* Yet Livy XXX. 37. 9 makes him say, *novem annorum a vobis profectus post sextum et tricesimum redii.* In that case he would have had little chance of learning statesmanship at home.

§ 3. **Hanno.** Probably the chief rival of Hamilcar after the 1st war, the feud and reconciliation between whom were so important in the struggle with the mercenaries. It was however, like other Punic names, a common one with leading men at different periods.

§ 4. **admiratione...convertisset.** For the form of the phrase cf. XXII. 30. 1, *profecti...in admirationem...converterunt.*

pro...rudimento. For this use of *pro* = 'as if that were' Fabri compares XXIII. 33. 6, *hostes pro hospitibus comiter accepti.* XXIV. 25. 3, *quum...pro domino possederit.*

§ 5. **regni paterni sp.** 'The show of monarchy which his father assumed.' Cf. the charges of Fabius in Polyb. III. 8 against Hasdrubal, *ἐπιβαλέσθαι εἰς μοναρχίαν περιστῆσαι τὸ πολίτευμα.*

hereditarii. Cf. the power of associations, coupled with a name, over the veterans of Cæsar and the countrymen of Napoleon.

§ 6. **Ego.** Cf. Donatus ap. Drakenb. *semper gravis inceptio orationis quæ exordium sumit a pronomine ego.*

quandoque is commonly used by Livy in the sense of 'since,' or 'whenever.' Here the indefinite meaning 'at some time or other' grows out of the elliptical use 'whenever it may be,' following *ne* as it follows *quoad* in Cic. Fam. 6. 19 *quoad ille quandoque veniat.* Tacitus however, Ann. VI. 20, uses it in this indefinite sense by itself, *et tu Galba quandoque degustabis imperium.*

c. IV. § 1. **maior pars.** Note the admission that the partisans of H. were the majority in the senate. It was not therefore merely a popular party, supported by the army, which dragged the country against its will into a war with Rome, according to the theory maintained by Fabius Pictor, and refuted by Polyb. III. 8, though in later days H. may have been accused by his political opponents as responsible for all the losses of the war, and Livy puts this charge into the mouth of the ambassadors of Carthage, XXX. 22. I, *eum injussu senatus non Alpes modo sed Hiberum quoque transgressum.*

In *optimus*, *meliorem*, we have traces of the old confusion so common in classical literature, by which moral terms are used to distinguish political parties. Cf. the use of *ἐπιεικεῖς, βέλτιστοι, σοφοί, πολιτεύειν σωφρονέστερον* in Thucydides, who speaks of the unscrupulous Antiphon as *ἀρετῇ οὐδενὶ ὕστερος.*

§ 2. **Hamilc. iuvenem.** Hamilcar was very young in the 1st Punic war, and died in the prime of life. Cf. Soph. Philoct. *κἀμ' εὐθὺς ἐν κύκλῳ στρατὸς | ἐκβάντα πᾶς ἠσπάζετ' ὀμνύντες βλέπειν | τὸν οὐκ ἔτ' ὄντα ζῶντ' Ἀχιλλέα πάλιν.*

credere...intueri. The historic infinitives here give vigour and liveliness to the passage.

P. 4. **lineamenta.** *Linea* is connected with *littera, lino,* from a root sli = smear, found in our *slime*, Corssen I. 383.

pater in se... 'His father's memory was but little needed to gain the popular good will.' For use of *momentum* cf. I. 47. 4, *ipsa regio semine orta nullum momentum in dando adimendoque regno faceret.* From the early meaning of the 'weight which turned the scale,' *movimentum*, came secondary meanings, as in the parallel cases of *gravis, serius*, both of which first denoted physical weight, and then moral.

§ 3. **discerneres,** a use of the imperf. subj., frequent in Livy, where the pluperf. would seem more natural to us, as II. 43. 9, *crederes victos.* The earlier part of this description seems too enthusiastic to have come from a Roman annalist;

probably it may be traced to Philinus, who wrote in the Punic interest. Here again Livy seems to have combined two distinct accounts, for the latter part is purely Roman. It has been thought that Sallust's description of Catiline suggested some of the language here used, but the resemblance is not very close. The early part of it is repeated by Livy XXVI. 41. 25, of the young Scipio Africanus.

§ 4. **praeficere** is used absolutely, a common feature of Livy's style.

fortiter ac strenue, epithets frequently combined. Fabri quotes Cic. Phil. II. 32, *si minus fortem, attamen strenuum. Strenuus* is probably connected with *στερεός, στρηνής, sterilis, starr*, Curtius 193.

§ 7. **id**, i.e. *temporis*. The use of *superesse* with the dative of the gerundive is unusual. 'Leisure from active work.'

custodias, sentinels on guard on the ramparts of the camp.

stationes, 'outposts' or pickets at outlying points.

§ 9. Polyb. IX. 24 says that the Romans thought cruelty the special vice of H., but that his namesake, Monomachus, was the real author of much that was complained of. In any case, the sufferings imposed on Italy by so desperate and long a struggle, the requisitions for the troops, and the outrages of camp followers, must have associated the name of H. in popular memory with deeds of terrible oppression. Polyb. regards the charge of avarice as best supported by the evidence of the Carthaginians themselves, and of Masinissa, who knew him well.

perfidia...Punica. Cf. XXII. 6. 12, *Punica religione servata fides ab Hannibale est.* On this popular sentiment, cf. Horace, Carm. IV. 4. 45, *dixitque tandem perfidus Hannibal*, and 43, *impio | vastata Pœnorum tumultu | fana.* As to the Punic character, cf. Cic. de leg. agr., *Carthaginienses fraudulenti et mendaces, non genere sed natura loci, quod propter portus suos, multis et variis mercatorum et advenarum sermonibus, ad studium fallendi studio quæstus vocabantur.* It was like the 'perfidious Albion' as used of England. The Romans had little right to make such a charge. Their treatment of Carthage had been strangely wanting in good faith, and the foreign policy of the Roman Senate was too often a course of unscrupulous craft and egotism, for the religious reverence for which Polybius praises them so highly was little shown in international dealings.

nihil... The Latin writers have recourse to *nihil* with the

partitive genitive, or to *nullus*, to express ideas for which no abstract negatives existed, such as 'irreverence,' 'irreligious.' See Nägelsbach, Stilistik, p. 61.

religio is the sense of the unseen world as a binding or constraining force (whether from *religare*, as in Lucretius, *religionum nodis exsolvere*, or from *relegere*, as Cicero N. D. II. 28). It is wider than *deum metus*, which refers only to the fear of divine punishment. Fabri quotes as a limitation of this Pliny, Nat. H. XVI. 40, *cui (templo) pepercit religione inductus Hannibal*. But it is needless to discuss seriously the extreme language of national antipathy.

§ 10. **meruit**, used properly with *stipendia*, then absolutely = 'served.'

agenda ..., 'which one who hoped to be some day a great general could do for himself or learn from others.'

c. v. § 1. **provincia decreta.** A metaphor taken from the Roman usage by which special departments were assigned to the consuls and prætor. Cf. 17. 1.

§ 2. **ne se quoque.** But the time may have seemed auspicious while Rome had the Gauls upon her hands.

P. 5. **cunctantem.** Notwithstanding the similarity in form the root of *cunctor* (connected with ὀκνεῖν) is probably distinct from that of *cunctus* (=*covinctus* or *cojunctus*), or *percontor* (from *contus*, a punt-pole). Cf. Curtius, 638.

§ 3. **Quibus oppugnandis...** 'as by an attack on them Rome was sure to be provoked to war.'

Olcadum, a people to the S. W. of Saguntum, mentioned also in Polyb. III. 13, in connexion with this campaign, but otherwise unknown.

ultra, i.e. from the point of view of Livy or a Roman reader.

in parte magis, i.e. on the side of the Hiberus which was left to Carthage by the treaty with Hasdrubal, though not as yet conquered.

rerum serie... 'by the course of events, the conquest that is of neighbouring tribes, and the annexation of their territory.' The absolute use of *jungendo* seems very awkward, and Usener suggests *aliud agendo quasi tractus*, but Fabri illustrates this use of *jungere* from Pliny, Ep. III. 19, *Prædia agris meis vicina atque etiam inserta venalia sunt...sollicitat primum ipsa pulchritudo jungendi.* For the combination of subst. and

gerund. in appos. *serie...jungendo*, cf. III. 40. 1, *nec iræ nec ignoscendi modum*, VI. 13. 6, *fugæ sequendique finis*.

§ 4. **Cartala**, called Ἀλθαία by Polyb. III. 13. The first syllable is probably Carth or Kiriath as in Carthago, Carteia.

Carthaginem Novam. Note the pleonasm in the name, for Carthage itself = Carthada a shortened form of Carth-had-(as)a = new town, so Serv. Æn. I. 366, *Carthago est lingua Pœnorum nova civitas, ut docet Livius*. Schröder, p. 85. Cf. like formations in Hampton-wick, Wansbeck-water.

Carth. Nova had been built by Hasdrubal with regal splendour, and chosen as a naval base for aggressive operations, having a spacious harbour sheltered by an island at the mouth, and being protected by marshes. Strabo speaks of its great natural strength, and the revenue from its mines, fisheries and commerce (III. 4. 6). Pliny (33. 6) mentions a single mine which brought in to Hannibal 300 pounds of silver daily. A full description of the site is given in Polyb. X. 10, an eye-witness, in connexion with its memorable capture by Scipio.

§ 5. **partiendo ...** Note the awkwardness of so many abl. forms in this sentence. It is one of the peculiarities of Livy's style to employ the abl. so often without a prepos.

præda for *præ-henda*. Cf. *prædium* (*præhendium*), *præbere* (*præhibere*), *debere* (*dehibere*). Corssen, I. 108.

§ 6. **Hermandica.** Polyb. Ἑλμαντική, possibly the Salamanca of later days, W.

§ 7. **Carpetanos.** Καρπήσιοι, described by Polyb., III. 14, as one of the strongest tribes in the neighbourhood of the Tagus, where Madrid and Toledo afterwards were built.

§ 9. **ab hostibus**, 'on the side of.' Cf. XXII. 16. 3, and I. 50. 6, *ne id quidem ab Turno tulisse tacitum ferunt*.

ita, 'only so far,' Fabri; but perhaps not necessarily 'only,' as Hannibal may have thrown his camp forward beyond the crossing place.

§ 10. **impeditum**, the acute suggestion of Heerwagen for *peditum*.

§ 11. **appendicibus**, 'contingents.'

invicta contains elliptically the protasis to *si* = 'which would have been unconquerable.'

P. 6, § 12. **id morari...** 'that their victory was delayed only by the river which flowed between them.'

§ 14. **instabilis ac vix vado f.** i. e. could hardly be sure of his footing even where the stream was fordable.

§ 16. **a tanto pavore.** To justify insertion of *a* cf. II. 50. 7, *recipiendi a pavore tanto animum.*

agmine quadrato, properly formed in square, so as to show a line of battle on every side, afterwards more generally of an army in fighting order, cf. II. 6. 8. Sen. Ep. 59, *in quadrato agmine exercitum, ubi hostis ab omni parte suspectus est, pugnæ paratum.* Tibull. IV. 1. 101, *seu sit opus, quadratum acies consistat in agmen | rectus ut æquatis decurrat frontibus ordo.*

fugam ex r. f. 'drove them in flight from the bank.'

c. VI. § 1. "War with S. was not yet declared, but there were already grounds for war. The neighbouring tribes were made to pick a quarrel with them, especially the Turdetani. As he who had stirred them to arms also espoused their cause, and it was clear that the intention was to appeal, not to arbitration, but the sword," &c. Fabri and W. leave out the stop after *causa,* and make it an abl. explanatory of *serebantur.*

Turdetani. These, according to Strabo III. 2, lay on the Bætis near Gades; the Edetani may be meant, for they were on the coast between Carthago Nova and the Hiberus, Str. III. 4. 1.

§ 3. **Consules tunc.** Yet see the doubts expressed by Livy 15. 4.

de re publ. rettul. The position of the consul who presided in the Senate was unlike that of Speaker or of Leader in a modern Parliament. He did not commonly keep order merely in debate, or move a distinct resolution, but stated the subjects for discussion, and appealed to the senators to speak *de re publica.* As to this expression Fabri quotes from Gell. XIV. 7 Varro's description of the customary usage, *de rebus quoque divinis prius quam humanis ad senatum referendum esse, tum porro referri oportere aut infinite de republica aut de singulis rebus finite.*

Legatus is used for a commissioner entrusted with a special function, and is not a definite name for official rank, and hence it retains its participial meaning, as 'bound,' or 'despatched.' (Cf. *lex, collega, ligare,* Corssen, II. 444.) The *fetiales* in early days had been the *regii nuntii* to discharge formalities of international intercourse. This was however a priestly corporation, and filled by co-optation: its duties were

gradually narrowed to ceremonial details when war was actually declared. For previous negotiations the Senate decided in each case to have commissioners (*legati*), leaving their choice commonly to the Executive, but fixing their number and qualifications, and giving them definite instructions. In later days for foreign wars the commander-in-chief was allowed to nominate *legati*, who should represent the Senate in his council of war, and undertake any functions, military or administrative, to which he might depute them. Like *præfectus*, the name implied only delegated functions, and required other adjuncts to make it definite.

ad res inspic. A usual phrase in Livy for the duties of special commissioners. Cf. IV. 36. 2, XXVI. 35. 8.

§ 4. **quibus si v.**, for *qui si videretur iis*...according to a frequent usage of attraction.

denuntiarent. To be written with a *t* like all compounds of *nuntius*, which= *noventius*, from *novus*, like *nundinæ* from *novem*, *contio* from *conventio*. So the inscriptions and best MSS. Corssen, I. 51.

P. 7, § 5. **hac legatione**...resumes the whole series of clauses which form the protasis of the sentence.

necdum missa. This is hardly consistent with the account of Polyb. III. 14, who makes the Roman envoys treat with H. at Carth. Nova, and spreads the whole over a longer time. The conjunction *dum*, which is also found as an affix of many words, as in *nedum*, *vixdum*, *nihildum*, *interdum*, &c., seems to proceed from *-dium*, the accus. form of *-dius*, *-diu*, found in *perdius*, *interdiu*, and to mean 'the day through,' 'the while.' Corssen, II. 856.

spe celerius. Cf. *dicto citius*, *spe serius*, *solito magis*. *Spe* is constantly used for 'expectation,' rather than 'hope.'

§ 6. **alii prov.** 'Some were for assigning at once to the consuls the departments of,' &c. Cf. 17. 1. As Fabri remarks, *decerno* is often used for *decerni volo*. Cf. 10. 13, II. 29. 8.

alii totum. 'Others were for limiting the range of war to'... Fabri and Weiss. read *intenderant* with most of the MSS., i.e. 'they had already at the first discourse,' &c. This is an awkward change of tense, but not unexampled in Livy.

c. VII. § 1. Saguntum lay in the midst of a rich and fertile country, Polyb. III. 17. It was afterwards rebuilt, and famous for its red pottery, the *calices Saguntini* of Martial, and though Moor and Goth have built with the materials of the

past, its *muri veteres* have given it the modern name of Murviedro, as the *urbs vetus* of central Italy became Orvieto. The old castle, crowned by Moorish walls and towers, is still a fortress which is the key of Valencia.

§ 2. **passus mille.** The sea has since retired to three times this distance from the site of the old town.

Oriundi. For the *constr. ad synesim, civitas...oriundi*, cf. xxvi. 19. 11, *Emporiis urbe Græca (oriundi et ipsi a Phocæa sunt) copias exposuit.* With the participial use of *oriundi* compare that of *volvendus* as used by Lucr. v. 514, 1276 with *sidera, ætas*, the *volvenda dies* of Vergil, and *volvendus clamor* of Ennius.

a Zacyntho. The identity of the names becomes apparent if we remember that in early Latin there was no distinction of C and G, and that Z, Υ and Θ were all letters of late introduction. The termination *um* may be paralleled by *Epidamnum, Ilium, Pergamum*, formed from Greek words in *-os*. Early coins clearly point to the fact of Greek inhabitants, and are very like those of Massilia. Cf. C. I. L. ii. p. 511.

§ 3. **tantas.** There is no relative to balance this, but it may refer to the proofs drawn from the siege.

fidem socialem. This is a bit of false sentiment, as Saguntum fought for itself, though it asked help from Rome.

§ 4. **infesto.** A word constantly used with *exercitu, signis, agmine*, &c., of any aggressive movement.

§ 5. Polybius omits all details of the siege, but he states the motives of H., his wish to strike terror into Spain, and to leave no elements of danger behind him in his march for Italy, as also his need of funds to secure adherents at Carthage.

cetera circa. This use of the adverb for the adj. or ellipse for *quæ circa erant*, where the Greeks would put an article before the adverb, is common in Livy, especially in the case of *circa*. Cf. xxiii. 23. 4, *omnibus circa solo æquatis*, i. 58. 2, *postquam satis tuta circa...videbantur.*

vineas. These were an important part of a Roman siege train, covering as they did the men who were trenching, undermining, or bringing up the battering rams. They are described by Vegetius iv. 15 as eight feet high, seven broad, and sixteen long, covered above with planks and hurdles, and at the sides with a screen of osiers, coated with raw hides at

the surface. They were then locked together to form one continuous defence, under which the assailants could work.

§ 6. **ut ...,** 'although ... yet little progress was made when they came to press the siege in earnest.'

effectum is one of Livy's favourite verbals in *us*, of which he uses more than most writers, and in cases elsewhere less familiar, as *spe effectus* for Cicero's *spe efficiendi.*

succedebat, often used impersonally by Livy. Fabri quotes xxiv. 38. 3, *cui (fraudi) quoniam parum succedit*; xxv. 37. 19, *si successisset cœptis.*

P. 8, § 7. **ut in suspecto,** i. e. as was natural in. Cf. 12. 4, *ut ab irato victore,* and viii. 30. 7, *multis potitus spoliis ut ex tanta cæde,* where the Greeks might use *οἷα εἰκός.* At other times the *ut* is used in a restrictive sense, as *vir ut inter Ætolos facundus,* xxxii. 33. 9.

ceteræ alt., briefly put for the height of the wall in other places, *constr. prægn.*

obsistebant. The plural verb with *iuventus* is common in Livy, cf. iv. 56. 6, *omnium populorum iuventus Antium contracta, ibi castris positis hostem opperiebantur,* so vii. 2. 5.

§ 8. **nec quicquam ...,** 'did not allow the besiegers to approach anywhere in safety,' a favourite form of Sallust. Jug. 66, *nihil intactum neque quietum pati*; also 88. Fabri.

§ 9. **tumultuariis,** often used by L., as 8. 7 of *pugna,* and extended even to *miles* i. 37. 6, *castra* xxviii. 16. 7, and *opus* xlii. 63. 4.

§ 10. **tragula,** so xxiv. 42. 2, *femur tragula confixum,* and Cæsar, Bell. Gall. v. 35. 6, *utrumque femur tragula trajicitur.* Varro, L. Lat. iv. 24, derives it from *trajicere.* The construction of the acc. of the part affected is more frequent in poetry than prose.

c. viii. § 1. **curaretur.** The subj. expresses the purpose of the delay.

§ 2. **pluribus p.,** a local abl. constantly used by Livy without a prepos.

cœptæ agi. Livy varies in his use of the word *cœpi.* Often as here he says, like Cicero, *agi cœptum, impediri cœpta res,* and nearly always with *fieri,* using a double passive, but at

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res repetunt, 'demand compensation,' answers to *res reddendas* of § 13. Cf. IV. 58. 1, *per legatos fetialesque res repeti cœptæ.*

ut publica, i. e. as a proof that, or assuming that the state was not at fault they demand the surrender of the guilty cause of the offence. For this sense of *publica fraus* cf. XXX. 25. 4, *seu Hasdrubale...sine publica fraude auso facinus.* Cf. V. 36. 7, *postulatum ut pro jure gentium violato Fabii dederentur.* Most MSS. omit the *ut* which Perizonius inserted.

§ 7. **Ægates.** The decisive defeat of Carthage off these islands brought the first war to a close, B.C. 241. They were in front of Lilybæum.

Erycem, now Monte di San Guiliano, the scene of Hamilcar's gallant stand for years against the Roman forces.

P. 11, § 8. **Mars alter.** Cf. *Cato tertius*, Juv. II. 40.

isti, i. e. the Barcine party; *iste* is often used of an opponent in a lawsuit, and with implied dislike.

Tarento. The appearance of a Punic fleet off Tarentum had been urged as a ground for the first war, cf. Epit. Liv. XIV., but Polyb. III. 26 gives at length the early treaties between Rome and Carthage, and exposes the error of those writers who hold that R. was bound to abstain from Sicily, and C. from Italy.

§ 9. **homines.** Madvig omits the *que* usually added to this word in order to emphasize the divine intervention, and makes *vicerunt* used absolutely; but *dii hominesque* is a very common phrase, and the change seems needless.

id de quo is used absolutely, not in appos. to a following sentence. It may be explained as referring to *judex*, as if it were *ejus de quo*='the subject of debate.'

unde, for 'on whose side,' as above, § 6, *unde ne hostium q. l.* Cf. IV. 43. 9, *unde* (i.e. *ab Æquis*) *si quid increparet terroris.*

§ 11. **in eo**, 'in the case of,' H. *eo...quod* 'for this reason.' *eo...unde*, 'thither.' Note the different senses in which *eo* is used in following lines.

§ 12. **dedendum.** We must supply *censeo* from the next sentence.

ad piaculum... 'to atone for...' as XLV. 10, *ad piaculum noxæ.* Some MSS. have *id p.*, and *piaculum* is often used by Livy as 'victim,' cf. VI. 21. 7, *ne piacula dederentur.*

accidere. Cf. 61. 1. So in L. *vox, clamor, strepitus accidit*; the common reading was *accedere.*

quietæ civ. st. *Hypallage* for *quietum civitatis statum*, as 11. 8, *structuræ antiquæ genere* for *antiquo.*

c. XI. § 1. **perorasset.** The *peroratio* which brought a speech to a close was of special rhetorical importance.

adeo prope omnis. Cf. 57. 14 the still stronger form *adeo omnis.*

omnis...Hannibalis erat. Cf. III. 36. 10, *hominum non causarum toti erant.*

Flaccus Valerius. Fabri notes that the usual order of *prænomen, nomen* and *cognomen*, is often neglected by Livy, sometimes in putting the prænomen last as Fabius Quintus,

more often in putting nomen after cognomen as Crassus Licinius, Antias Valerius.

§ 2. **ortum ab S.** Polyb. iii. 15 refers to a despatch from H. to Carthage complaining of aggressions of the Saguntines on the Carthaginian subjects. *Saguntinos* short for *Saguntinorum societatem.* Cf. ix. 10. 1, *Postumium...devotione P. Decii...æquabant,* and many like examples in Livy.

P. 12. vetustissimæ. The earliest treaty of R. with C. dated from 508 b. c.

§ 3. **fessum habebat.** The verb *habere,* besides its auxiliary use, implies the continuance of the result. Cf. Cic. Rep. iii. 14. 24, *quum quæreretur ex eo quo scelere impulsus mare haberet infestum uno myoparone.* Fam. 14. 7. 1, *sollicitudines quibus te miserrimam habui.* So Lucr. i. 1068 *amplexi quod habent perverse prima viai.*

ira...stimulando. The abl. accompanied by the gerund is awkward. The MSS. do not vary, though Gronovius reads *stimulanda,* but Fabri observes that Livy does not use *stimulare iram,* but *st. aliquem* or *animum,* in other places. Usener supposes *promittendo* to have slipped out of the second half of the sentence, in which there is a want of balance.

§ 4. **contio** for *conventio* is used for an assembly in the city, or the camp, as also for an harangue pronounced on such occasions, so *pro contione* = 'publicly.'

extemplo. Adverb formed of prepos. and noun like *inprimis, perviam, illico, obviam,* &c. *Templo* connected with *tempus* and *τέμνειν.*

§ 7. **turris.** The moveable tower (*t. ambulatoria*) of later times is described by Vegetius, iv. 17, as 30 to 50 feet square, and so high as to overtop, not the walls only, but the towers of the besieged city. It was covered with raw hides to be screened from fire, and was moved along on rollers to the point of attack. In the lowest story was contained a battering ram, in the middle was a drawbridge, which might suddenly be lowered and secured with grappling irons to the walls for a boarding party, while the higher stories were filled with men who poured a shower of missiles of every kind upon the enemy.

catapultis. Latinized form of *καταπέλτης* from *πάλλω.* With it we may possibly connect *pilum.* Corssen, ii. 157.

ballistis. See the description in Vegetius iv. 22, *Ballista funibus nervinis tenditur, quæ quanto prolixiora brachiola habuerit, hoc est, quanto major fuerit, tanto spicula longius mittit.*

§ 8. **cæmenta.** The small stones used in rambling work, or for foundations, or piers. Cf. Hor. Od. iii. 1. 34, *cæmenta demittit redemptor.* Corssen connects it with *cæspes*, *lapicida*, *scindo*, and the root skid=cut.

interlita luto, 'with layers of mud between the courses.'

§ 9. **patentia ruinis,** 'the breach.' L. often uses neut. participles substantively, like *aversa urbis*, *extrema agminis*, but the constr. with an abl. is still bolder.

P. 13, § 10. **murum interiorem ducunt.** A wall crossing the other at points where the old work was firm. This was sometimes called *brachium.* Cf. iv. 9. 14, *consul muro Ardeæ brachium injunxerat*, xxii. 52, *brachio objecto flumine eos excludit.*

§ 13. **affectos.** Frequently used by L. in the sense of 'morbid,' *affectæ vires*, v. 106, *corpus*, xxii. 8. 3.

Oretanos. Described by Strabo iii. 1 as South of the Carpetani, and on the mountain range now called the Sierra Morena.

dilectus. This is the proper form of the word, not *delectus*, as the Roman idea was not so much that of choosing from the mass (*de*), as of distributing (*di*) among the 4 legions the conscripts of each tribe, as described by Polyb. vi. 20.

consternati. Here used for excitement, rather than fear. Cf. vii. 42. 1, *ad arma consternari*, xxviii. 25. 1, *causa iræ consternationisque.*

c. xii. § 1. **cives.** The term could strictly be applied to only few in H.'s army, which was mainly composed of the subject races.

§ 2. **arietibus.** In the 16th century large fragments of a battering ram were still shown at Saguntum (Murviedro) in the castle, which were of great antiquity, and traditionally described as part of the siege train of H., and as such copied in the works of early travellers. Cf. Hermes ii. 450.

§ 4. **Tentata.** 'Slight as was the hope of peace, efforts were made to gain it.' Cf. xxviii. 38. 4, *tentata est spes triumphi.* On the spelling of *tentare* Ritschl says in his Prolegomena, *nec de temptare forma post Bentleium hodie fere dubitatur*, referring to Bentley's remark, *Hoc in omne genus MSS. animadverti, tam veterrimis mille et ducentorum annorum, quam recentioribus, vel temptare scribi, vel rarius temtare; nunquam quod hodie obtinet, tentare.* Some of the best inscriptions also give *temptare.* It was however an etymolo-

gical blunder, by which the *tentare* from *tentus, tendere* was assimilated to the *temptus* from *temnere*, in which the *p* was inserted for euphony between *m* and *n*.

Hispanum. Either generally, or in distinction to the Saguntines who were said to be of foreign race.

movebant. Fabri remarks on the frequent use of the imperf. with *postquam*, in cases where the action is supposed still to continue. Cf. iii. 60. 8, *postquam jam multa dies erat, neque movebatur quicquam.*

condiciones. 'Harsh conditions were named as might be expected from an implacable enemy.' This spelling of *condicio* is almost invariably found in the best MSS. and inscriptions; the derivation from *condere* must therefore be given up in favour of that which connects it with *dicio, judicare*, δίκη, and the root *dik*. On the use of *ut*, cf. 7. 7.

transfuga ex or. 'Turned deserter instead of advocate.'

sub condic. The *sub* is very rarely used in this connexion, as *condicio* is used absolutely in the abl. Heerwagen thinks that it emphasizes the dependent condition of the Saguntines.

P. 14, § 6. interpretem. For the use of the word cf. ii. 33. 14, *huic interpreti arbitroque concordiæ civium.* Curtius connects *interpres* with S. *prat*, and φραδ, φράσσω.

publice S. 'Recognized by the State of Saguntum as,' &c.

§ 8. **senatus datus.** 'Audience was given in the senate to.' This sense suits most of the passages in which the phrase is used in Livy, but in some it can only refer to a special meeting convened for the purpose, as in xxvi. 21. 1, where the prætor calls the senate together to discuss the claims of an applicant for a triumph. So too of the corresponding expressions, xxiii. 7. 11, *senatum extemplo postulat*, where the demand is for a special meeting.

c. xiii. § 1. **veni.** The subj. *venissem* of the MSS. here seems out of place in reference to the definite *hoc iter*, and Madvig reads *veni. sed*, thinking that this was written *veni set*, then changed to *venisset*, and afterwards as a mistake in the person to *venissem*.

§ 2. **pro.** 'In the name of,' 'out of regard for.'

§ 3. **loqui, quæ loquor.** A sort of repetition constantly occurring in Latin writers. Fabri compares Quintil. ix. 3. 80, *accedit et ex illa figura gratia, qua nomina dixi mutatis casibus repeti 'non minus cederet quam cessit.'*

vel ea fides sit. 'Evidence may be found in the fact that.'

§ 4. **Postquam...est.** 'Now that there is.' A rare sequence of tense, as the *est* is not the historical present. It should be *postquam eo ventum est ut.* Heerwagen compares 30. 5, *postquam multo majorem partem itineris emensam cernant.*

§ 5. **Cuius ita.** 'Some slight hope of which is left provided that you accept its terms as conquered men, seeing that H. dictates them as a conqueror, and do not think of what you forfeit as a loss, but of what you are allowed to keep as a free gift, seeing that all you have is at your conqueror's mercy.' The change of mood from the *audiatis* of the MSS. which most editors retain, to *habituri estis*, can hardly be explained on any principle, so Madvig reads *audietis* after Gronovius.

P. 15, § 6. **captam habet.** A strong form of the perfect for a completed act, as *fessum militem habebat*, 11. 3.

§ 7. **binis.** Why this instead of *singulis*, 12. 5, we do not know, and Lipsius therefore suggested *privis* as *privis tunicis donati*, VII. 37. 2.

§ 8. **Equidem.** The *e* seems to be an intensifying particle as in *edepol* (*e. deus. Pollux*), *equirine, ecastor, edius Fidius*, another form of *medius Fidius*. Corssen, II. 857.

§ 9. **patienda...sinatis.** Note the change of construction, *patiamini* being understood in *patienda.*

trucidari. Derived by Corssen from *truncum cædere*, as if shortened from *truci-cidare* like *stipendium* for *stipi-pendium*, II. 581.

c. XIV. § 1. **paulatim.** Like *raptim, confestim*, this adverb seems to be an accusative form of an abstract substantive otherwise lost. Corssen II. 532 explains *paulus*, or *paullus* the older form, as a diminutive *paurulus* from a root *pauro*, preserved in παῦρος, like *misellus, tenellus*, &c. for *miserulus, tenerulus.* So the name Paulus means 'the little man' as Crassus 'the fat man.'

argentum aurumque omne. Livy seems in this chapter to combine two accounts of the event, one of which emphasized the tragic despair of the S., while another reported *ingens præda* and *captivi.* Polybius III. 17 after a very short account of the siege dwells on the booty gained. Like stories of the self-destruction of the inhabitants were told in the case of other Spanish towns in later times. Cf. XXVIII. 23, Juv. XV. 93. Compare also the sieges of Numantia and Zaragoza.

§ 3. **momento.** More frequently with *temporis*, or *horæ*, not absolutely, as here and in III. 63. 1, XXIV. 22. 9.

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§ 5. **rupta fœdera.** Cf. § 8. *ulti* agrees with *Romani* understood in *R. legiones* by a *constr. ad synesim.*

§ 6. **ius gentium sust.**, 'made light of international law;' this insisted on respectful treatment of ambassadors, but H. was justified in referring them to his own government. Cf. *jure gentium agunt*, I. 14. 1.

res repetunt, 'demand compensation,' answers to *res reddendas* of § 13. Cf. IV. 58. 1, *per legatos fetialesque res repeti cœptæ.*

ut publica, i. e. as a proof that, or assuming that the state was not at fault they demand the surrender of the guilty cause of the offence. For this sense of *publica fraus* cf. XXX. 25. 4, *seu Hasdrubale...sine publica fraude auso facinus.* Cf. V. 36. 7, *postulatum ut pro jure gentium violato Fabii dederentur.* Most MSS. omit the *ut* which Perizonius inserted.

§ 7. **Ægates.** The decisive defeat of Carthage off these islands brought the first war to a close, B.C. 241. They were in front of Lilybæum.

Erycem, now Monte di San Guiliano, the scene of Hamilcar's gallant stand for years against the Roman forces.

P. 11, § 8. **Mars alter.** Cf. *Cato tertius*, Juv. ii. 40.

isti, i. e. the Barcine party; *iste* is often used of an opponent in a lawsuit, and with implied dislike.

Tarento. The appearance of a Punic fleet off Tarentum had been urged as a ground for the first war, cf. Epit. Liv. xiv., but Polyb. iii. 26 gives at length the early treaties between Rome and Carthage, and exposes the error of those writers who hold that R. was bound to abstain from Sicily, and C. from Italy.

§ 9. **homines.** Madvig omits the *que* usually added to this word in order to emphasize the divine intervention, and makes *vicerunt* used absolutely; but *dii hominesque* is a very common phrase, and the change seems needless.

id de quo is used absolutely, not in appos. to a following sentence. It may be explained as referring to *judex*, as if it were *ejus de quo* = 'the subject of debate.'

unde, for 'on whose side,' as above, § 6, *unde ne hostium q. l.* Cf. iv. 43. 9, *unde* (i.e. *ab Æquis*) *si quid increparet terroris.*

§ 11. **in eo**, 'in the case of,' H. *eo...quod* 'for this reason.' *eo...unde*, 'thither.' Note the different senses in which *eo* is used in following lines.

§ 12. **dedendum.** We must supply *censeo* from the next sentence.

ad piaculum... 'to atone for...' as xlv. 10, *ad piaculum noxæ.* Some MSS. have *id p.*, and *piaculum* is often used by Livy as 'victim,' cf. vi. 21. 7, *ne piacula dederentur.*

accidere. Cf. 61. 1. So in L. *vox*, *clamor*, *strepitus accidit*; the common reading was *accedere.*

quietæ civ. st. *Hypallage* for *quietum civitatis statum*, as 11. 8, *structuræ antiquæ genere* for *antiquo.*

c. xi. § 1. **perorasset.** The *peroratio* which brought a speech to a close was of special rhetorical importance.

adeo prope omnis. Cf. 57. 14 the still stronger form *adeo omnis.*

omnis...Hannibalis erat. Cf. iii. 36. 10, *hominum non causarum toti erant.*

Flaccus Valerius. Fabri notes that the usual order of *prænomen, nomen* and *cognomen*, is often neglected by Livy, sometimes in putting the prænomen last as Fabius Quintus,

more often in putting nomen after cognomen as Crassus Licinius, Antias Valerius.

§ 2. **ortum ab S.** Polyb. iii. 15 refers to a despatch from H. to Carthage complaining of aggressions of the Saguntines on the Carthaginian subjects. *Saguntinos* short for *Saguntinorum societatem.* Cf. ix. 10. 1, *Postumium...devotione P. Decii...æquabant,* and many like examples in Livy.

P. 12. **vetustissimæ.** The earliest treaty of R. with C. dated from 508 B. C.

§ 3. **fessum habebat.** The verb *habere,* besides its auxiliary use, implies the continuance of the result. Cf. Cic. Rep. iii. 14. 24, *quum quæreretur ex eo quo scelere impulsus mare haberet infestum uno myoparone.* Fam. 14. 7. 1, *sollicitudines quibus te miserrimam habui.* So Lucr. i. 1068 *amplexi quod habent perverse prima viai.*

ira...stimulando. The abl. accompanied by the gerund is awkward. The MSS. do not vary, though Gronovius reads *stimulanda,* but Fabri observes that Livy does not use *stimulare iram,* but *st. aliquem* or *animum,* in other places. Usener supposes *promittendo* to have slipped out of the second half of the sentence, in which there is a want of balance.

§ 4. **contio** for *conventio* is used for an assembly in the city, or the camp, as also for an harangue pronounced on such occasions, so *pro contione* = 'publicly.'

extemplo. Adverb formed of prepos. and noun like *inprimis, perviam, illico, obviam,* &c. *Templo* connected with *tempus* and *τέμνειν.*

§ 7. **turris.** The moveable tower (*t. ambulatoria*) of later times is described by Vegetius, iv. 17, as 30 to 50 feet square, and so high as to overtop, not the walls only, but the towers of the besieged city. It was covered with raw hides to be screened from fire, and was moved along on rollers to the point of attack. In the lowest story was contained a battering ram, in the middle was a drawbridge, which might suddenly be lowered and secured with grappling irons to the walls for a boarding party, while the higher stories were filled with men who poured a shower of missiles of every kind upon the enemy.

catapultis. Latinized form of *καταπέλτης* from *πάλλω.* With it we may possibly connect *pilum.* Corssen, ii. 157.

ballistis. See the description in Vegetius iv. 22, *Ballista funibus nervinis tenditur, quæ quanto proliziora brachiola habuerit, hoc est, quanto major fuerit, tanto spicula longius mittit.*

§ 8. **cæmenta.** The small stones used in rambling work, or for foundations, or piers. Cf. Hor. Od. III. 1. 34, *cæmenta demittit redemptor.* Corssen connects it with *cæspes, lapicida, scindo,* and the root skid=cut.

interlita luto, 'with layers of mud between the courses.'

§ 9. **patentia ruinis,** 'the breach.' L. often uses neut. participles substantively, like *aversa urbis, extrema agminis,* but the constr. with an abl. is still bolder.

P. 13, § 10. **murum interiorem ducunt.** A wall crossing the other at points where the old work was firm. This was sometimes called *brachium.* Cf. IV. 9. 14, *consul muro Ardeæ brachium injunxerat,* XXII. 52, *brachio objecto flumine eos excludit.*

§ 13. **affectos.** Frequently used by L. in the sense of 'morbid,' *affectæ vires,* V. 106, *corpus,* XXII. 8. 3.

Oretanos. Described by Strabo III. 1 as South of the Carpetani, and on the mountain range now called the Sierra Morena.

dilectus. This is the proper form of the word, not *delectus,* as the Roman idea was not so much that of choosing from the mass (*de*), as of distributing (*di*) among the 4 legions the conscripts of each tribe, as described by Polyb. VI. 20.

consternati. Here used for excitement, rather than fear. Cf. VII. 42. 1, *ad arma consternari,* XXVIII. 25. 1, *causa iræ consternationisque.*

c. XII. § 1. **cives.** The term could strictly be applied to only few in H.'s army, which was mainly composed of the subject races.

§ 2. **arietibus.** In the 16th century large fragments of a battering ram were still shown at Saguntum (Murviedro) in the castle, which were of great antiquity, and traditionally described as part of the siege train of H., and as such copied in the works of early travellers. Cf. Hermes II. 450.

§ 4. **Tentata.** 'Slight as was the hope of peace, efforts were made to gain it.' Cf. XXVIII. 38. 4, *tentata est spes triumphi.* On the spelling of *tentare* Ritschl says in his Prolegomena, *nec de temptare forma post Bentleium hodie fere dubitatur,* referring to Bentley's remark, *Hoc in omne genus MSS. animadverti, tam veterrimis mille et ducentorum annorum, quam recentioribus, vel temptare scribi, vel rarius temtare; nunquam quod hodie obtinet, tentare.* Some of the best inscriptions also give *temptare.* It was however an etymolo-

gical blunder, by which the *tentare* from *tentus*, *tendere* was assimilated to the *temptus* from *temnere*, in which the *p* was inserted for euphony between *m* and *n*.

Hispanum. Either generally, or in distinction to the Saguntines who were said to be of foreign race.

movebant. Fabri remarks on the frequent use of the imperf. with *postquam*, in cases where the action is supposed still to continue. Cf. iii. 60. 8, *postquam jam multa dies erat, neque movebatur quicquam.*

condiciones. 'Harsh conditions were named as might be expected from an implacable enemy.' This spelling of *condicio* is almost invariably found in the best MSS. and inscriptions; the derivation from *condere* must therefore be given up in favour of that which connects it with *dicio*, *judicare*, *δίκη*, and the root *dik*. On the use of *ut*, cf. 7. 7.

transfuga ex or. 'Turned deserter instead of advocate.'

sub condic. The *sub* is very rarely used in this connexion, as *condicio* is used absolutely in the abl. Heerwagen thinks that it emphasizes the dependent condition of the Saguntines.

P. 14, § 6. **interpretem.** For the use of the word cf. ii. 33. 14, *huic interpreti arbitroque concordiæ civium.* Curtius connects *interpres* with S. *prat*, and *φραδ*, *φράσσω*.

publice S. 'Recognized by the State of Saguntum as,' &c.

§ 8. **senatus datus.** 'Audience was given in the senate to.' This sense suits most of the passages in which the phrase is used in Livy, but in some it can only refer to a special meeting convened for the purpose, as in xxvi. 21. 1, where the prætor calls the senate together to discuss the claims of an applicant for a triumph. So too of the corresponding expressions, xxiii. 7. 11, *senatum extemplo postulat*, where the demand is for a special meeting.

c. xiii. § 1. **veni.** The subj. *venissem* of the MSS. here seems out of place in reference to the definite *hoc iter*, and Madvig reads *veni. sed*, thinking that this was written *veni set*, then changed to *venisset*, and afterwards as a mistake in the person to *venissem*.

§ 2. **pro.** 'In the name of,' 'out of regard for.'

§ 3. **loqui, quæ loquor.** A sort of repetition constantly occurring in Latin writers. Fabri compares Quintil. ix. 3. 80, *accedit et ex illa figura gratia, qua nomina dixi mutatis casibus repeti* '*non minus cederet quam cessit.*'

vel ea fides sit. 'Evidence may be found in the fact that.'

§ 4. **Postquam...est.** 'Now that there is.' A rare sequence of tense, as the *est* is not the historical present. It should be *postquam eo ventum est ut*. Heerwagen compares 30. 5, *postquam multo majorem partem itineris emensam cernant.*

§ 5. **Cuius ita.** 'Some slight hope of which is left provided that you accept its terms as conquered men, seeing that H. dictates them as a conqueror, and do not think of what you forfeit as a loss, but of what you are allowed to keep as a free gift, seeing that all you have is at your conqueror's mercy.' The change of mood from the *audiatis* of the MSS. which most editors retain, to *habituri estis*, can hardly be explained on any principle, so Madvig reads *audietis* after Gronovius.

P. 15, § 6. **captam habet.** A strong form of the perfect for a completed act, as *fessum militem habebat*, 11. 3.

§ 7. **binis.** Why this instead of *singulis*, 12. 5, we do not know, and Lipsius therefore suggested *privis* as *privis tunicis donati*, vii. 37. 2.

§ 8. **Equidem.** The *e* seems to be an intensifying particle as in *edepol* (*e. deus. Pollux*), *equirine*, *ecastor*, *edius Fidius*, another form of *medius Fidius*. Corssen, ii. 857.

§ 9. **patienda...sinatis.** Note the change of construction, *patiamini* being understood in *patienda.*

trucidari. Derived by Corssen from *truncum cædere*, as if shortened from *truci-cidare* like *stipendium* for *stipi-pendium*, ii. 581.

c. xiv. § 1. **paulatim.** Like *raptim*, *confestim*, this adverb seems to be an accusative form of an abstract substantive otherwise lost. Corssen ii. 532 explains *paulus*, or *paullus* the older form, as a diminutive *paurulus* from a root *pauro*, preserved in *παύρος*, like *misellus*, *tenellus*, &c. for *miserulus*, *tenerulus*. So the name Paulus means 'the little man' as Crassus 'the fat man.'

argentum aurumque omne. Livy seems in this chapter to combine two accounts of the event, one of which emphasized the tragic despair of the S., while another reported *ingens præda* and *captivi*. Polybius iii. 17 after a very short account of the siege dwells on the booty gained. Like stories of the self-destruction of the inhabitants were told in the case of other Spanish towns in later times. Cf. xxviii. 23, Juv. xv. 93. Compare also the sieges of Numantia and Zaragoza.

§ 3. **momento.** More frequently with *temporis*, or *horæ*, not absolutely, as here and in iii. 63. 1, xxiv. 22. 9.

crudele. Requires *fuit* to balance *cognitum est*, but Livy often omits in like cases.

§ 4. **nullum ante finem.** The long delay and heavy losses of the siege may well have disgusted Hannibal with operations which gave so little scope for his genius for strategy. We find therefore that in Italy he rarely persevered in the siege of any of the fortresses by which he passed in his campaigns. He marched too rapidly through hostile country to carry with him the heavy materials of a siege train.

P. 16, c. xv. § 2. **supellectilem.** We may explain *supellex* as a contracted form of *superlectus*, though we read *Labeo ait originem fuisse supellectilis quod olim his qui in legionibus proficiscerentur locari solerent quæ* sub pellibus *usui forent.* Dig. 33. 10. 7. 1.

§ 3. **Octavo mense.** Rome had therefore ample time to send the needful succour to Saguntum, and by her long delay she not only deserted an ally, but brought invasion upon Italy.

Octavo...quam. The *post* is here omitted before *quam*, as in iv. 47. 5, *die octavo quam creatus erat*, and other places.

cœptum. Note the omission of *sit* after this word, and of *esse* after *captum.*

quidam scripsere, as Polyb. iii. 17.

§ 4. **fieri non p.** The chronological difficulty existed only in the authorities which Livy followed. The account of Polybius is clear and consistent, agreeing only with L. in the eight months for the siege, and the five for the march to Italy. He makes the Roman envoys reach H. at Carthago Nova before the siege begins, and throws back the embassy of Saguntum to the year before the consulship of Scipio and Sempronius.

§ 5. **cœptum.** Weissenborn remarks that Livy forgets that the consuls entered office on the 15th of March, and that the army which took Sag. could not then be returning *in hiberna.*

§ 6. **excessisse.** 'The battle on the T. cannot have fallen so late.' As for the phrase Fabri compares xxx. 26. 1, *insequentia excedunt in eum annum quo.*

pugna ad Trebiam. So xxii. 7. 1, *ad Trasumennum pugna*, 54. 11, *clades ad Ægates insulas.*

C. Flaminius Ar. Cf. 63. 1.

creatus a T. S. The magistrate presiding at the elections must be of like or higher rank, i. e. dictator, consul, or interrex. He was said *creare*, that is, to declare the candidate elected, though the phrase *populus creat* is also used.

c. xvi. § 1. **Sub idem tempus**, 'about the same time.' Cf. 2. 1.

qui redierant. The delay of the envoys seems unreasonable according to Livy's dates, still more so if we accept those of Polybius.

§ 2. **pudor non lati aux.**, 'shame at the neglect to send,' cf. on 1. 5.

summa r., 'the safety of the state,' cf. XXII. 12. 10, and note on 1. 1.

P. 17, § 3. **nam neque hostem,** thrown into the acc. of the oblique narration, giving the reason of *metus*. Cf. '*nam et Siciliam*,' I. 5.

§ 4. **Sardos.** These hostilities took place just after the 1st, and before the 2nd Punic war. Sardinia, which Rome had wrested from Carthage at the end of the 1st Punic war, rebelled shortly afterwards and made common cause with the Corsicans, whose indignation had been roused by the refusal of the Roman government to recognize the treaty of peace just concluded without its sanction, nor would they accept the person of M. Claudius Glicia, the author of the obnoxious treaty. The unhealthy climate stayed awhile the progress of the Roman arms, but both islands were finally subdued by Sp. Carvilius, B.C. 234.

The Illyrians, B.C. 230, under the queen-regent Teuta provoked hostilities by their piracies on Italian traders and murder of the R. envoys, but they were speedily defeated, as were also the Histrians who followed their example.

tumultuatum. These passive forms of neuter verbs are especially frequent in historical writers, e.g. *discursum, procursum, consensum, desperatum, introitum, transcensum.* The term is justified by the old phrase often used of *Gallicus tumultus* which Cicero thus explains, *tumultum majores nostri Italicum quod erat domesticus tumultus, Gallicum quod erat Italiæ finitimus, præterea nullum tumultum nominabant.* Phil. 8. 1. But the alarm at Rome as described by Polybius, II. 24, and the care with which the muster-rolls of the Italian contingents were reviewed, show how real the danger was then thought to be, though the great victory at Telamon soon put an end to it. As to form of the sentence cf. II. 26. 1, *tumultus fuit verius quam bellum.*

§ 5. **trium et vig.** includes the whole period between the two Punic wars, 241—218 B.C., though the conquest of Spain was not begun so early.

§ 6. **bellum in Italia.** Pol. III. 15 states that the Romans did not expect to wage war in Italy but in Spain, and

there is no reason to suppose that the plans of Hannibal could have been foreseen.

c. xvii. § 1. The term *provincia* is strictly used only in connexion with the *imperium* of a Roman magistrate, that is with military and judicial functions. For this reason, as for others, we must reject the derivation from *providentia* which is often given for it, together with that from *proventus* of Niebuhr, and accept the old derivation from *provincere* ('to be the mightiest') of Festus, though his words *vinciam dicebant continentem,... provinciæ quod eas pop. Rom. provicit* seem wrongly to restrict the use of the term to land beyond the seas, and to point to the conquest rather than the rule. The Annalists employed it early for the limits of each consul's sphere of military action. Thus Livy II. 40. 14, *Aquilio Hernici provincia evenit*; for some such division of functions must have been needful from the first, though not constitutionally binding. As the senate's influence increased, it claimed more right to define the work of the executive from year to year, or *nominare provincias*, or in less appropriate terms *decernere* (c. 6. 6); but the several departments were decided by lot (*sortiri*) or by agreement (*comparare inter se provincias,...extra sortem concedente collega*).

The principle of division was extended to the prætorship when two forms of jurisdiction were distinguished, and with the conquest of Sicily a precedent was set for the new system of departments locally distinct from the executive centralized at Rome. Each of these provinces in the latter sense was ruled by a governor invested with an *imperium* which covered military and judicial functions.

§ 2. **socium, quantum i. v.** Such discretionary power was not commonly vested in the consuls, unless by special commission as in this case. The policy of Rome was to throw more and more of the military burdens upon the allies, who had been gradually brought closer to R., and severed from each other by distinct ties of relationship to the central city.

Note the contracted form of the gen. plur. which is frequently used in this word as in *deum, modium, jugerum, denarium*. Cf. Cic. Orat. 157, *alias ita loquor ut concessum est, ut hoc vel 'pro deum' dico vel 'pro deorum', alias ut necesse est, cum 'trium virum' non virorum, cum 'sestertium nummum' non nummorum, quod in his consuetudo varia non est.*

ipsis, i. e. *consulibus*.

§ 3. **scripta**, enrolled. The verbal copula is omitted throughout the chapter.

celoces = κέλητες or light galleys, commonly feminine. A large fleet was ready in consequence of recent operations in Illyria.

deducti. The fuller form is given xli. 9. 1, *naves si deducere ex navalibus vellet.* Gr. καθέλκειν.

§ 4. **Latum.** 'The question was brought before the commons (i. e. the Com. Centuriata to which all questions of war were constitutionally referred) whether it was their will and pleasure.' *populus* is used of the general assembly of the whole people, as distinct from the plebs; the asyndeton is especially common in technical phrases like these terms for the resolution on which the vote was taken.

supplicatio. V. Excursus on Roman religion.

bellum is here inserted in the relative sentence, though the subject of the principal clause. Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 4. 2, *alii quorum comœdia prisca virorum est.*

§ 5. **quaterna millia.** Polyb. ii. 24 gives the full strength of the legion as 5200 foot with 300 horse attached.

naves longæ = μακρὰ πλοῖα of Polyb. These were triremes or quinqueremes, or *rostratæ* as distinct from the *onerariæ* which carried only the supplies.

P. 18, § 6. **Sempronius...ita...si.** Polyb. iii. 41 speaks of the preparations of S. in Sicily, and of his confidence of taking Carthage as it were by a *coup de main.*

transmissurus. The future participle implies the commission given conditionally. Livy uses this participle with more shades of meaning than earlier writers, not merely to imply a future act, a determination or destiny, but hypothetical statements such as vi. 38. 10, *haud sine pudore fractum priore anno in se imperium repetiturum.* Cf. Nägelsbach, Stil. 314.

§ 7. **et ipse.** This combination is very rare in Cicero, who used *et* for *etiam* sparingly.

§ 8. **cum suo iusto,** 'with their proper complement of,' i. e. 300 in each, yet *suo* seems enough by itself, as Cic. Ver. v. 51, *Si suum numerum naves haberent.* Usener suggests that *justo* may have slipped in from the beginning of the next chapter.

§ 9. **Duas legiones.** This sentence explains the *haud invalido præsidio* of § 7, W. Polyb. iii. 40 implies that only one legion was sent.

eodem versa. The reading, if genuine, is harsh; *versa* must be taken to agree with *millia* or be understood absolutely of all the forces specified.

eodem is further explained by *in Pun. bellum,* i. e. the province had forces sent with the same object (or in the same

direction) to meet the coming war with Carthage. But as a matter of fact they were sent mainly to keep the Gauls in check. The old reading is *eodem anno*, which has little MS. authority. It would seem as if some word had dropped out, like *missa*, after *eodem*, and that Livy meant that the forces sent to keep watch over the Gauls were diverted to the war with Hannibal (*versa habuit*).

c. xviii. § 1. **omnia iusta.** So ix. 8. 5, *nec prius ingredi hostium fines quam omnia justa...perfecta erunt.* It was characteristic of the Romans to observe scrupulously the diplomatic forms preceding war, and it was the special duty of the *fetiales* to watch over them that it might be a *pium justumque bellum.* On the use of the term *justus* cf. i. 4. 4 *ad justi cursum amnis;* xxiv. 14. 4 *justus miles* as opposed to volunteers, *justa arma* of the legionaries compared with those of the skirmishers.

mittunt ad perc....ut ind. Note the change of constr. from *ad* to *ut*. On derivation of *percontor*, see note on 5. 2; it is sometimes spelt *percunctor* from a mistaken analogy. Corssen, i. 36.

§ 2. **publico consilio,** 'with the sanction of the state,' cf. 9. 6 *publica fraus.*

§ 4. **Præceps...** 'The language of your earlier embassy was peremptory enough...but your present ultimatum &c.'

adhuc 'so far' (at least) Polybius had mentioned an earlier embassy to Carthage, but had said nothing of so improbable a demand as the surrender of H. before the siege of S.

P. 19, § 6. **censeam.** The use of the subj. in courtesy, or irony as here, is more common in Greek than Latin.

§ 7. **una discept.** 'With you there is one question only for debate.'

§ 8. **quoniam...placet,...nobis...est.** In the apodosis there is an ellipse of 'we say,' 'answer,' as frequently in Livy.

C. Lutatio. The consul who drew up the terms of peace at the end of the 1st Punic war.

quum caveretur. 'Though the interests of allies on both sides were stipulated for.'

§ 9. **At enim.** Only used in the speeches as a reply to a supposed objection 'but that matters not, you will say, for,' so *sed enim, verum enim, immo enim,* and sometimes without another particle as *quid enim, id enim.*

§ 10. **icit,** the old preterite of *ictum,* of very rare use. The MSS. read *iecit,* possibly as W. suggests, for *fecit.* The form

fœdus ictum or *ferire* is to be explained perhaps from the ancient custom of slaughtering an animal (*porcus*) as an impressive symbol.

auctoritate patrum. This phrase is here used in its most general sense as *the sanction of the senate*, as the great governing power in the state. But it has also more specific senses. (1) In early times possibly the patrician members of the senate had the right of veto on any popular vote of the *comitia*; their sanction or *patrum auctoritas* was expressed by the formula *patres auctores fiunt.* Their action was gradually confined to questions of procedure and ceremonial usage, and by the Publilian law 338 B.C., their assent was required before the result of the voting was known, I. 17. 9, *in incertum comitiorum eventum patres auctores fiunt,* VIII. 12. 16, *ante initum suffragium.* (2) The action of the senate was subject to the veto of the tribunes, but in such case of interference, the resolution come to, though it could not technically rank as a *senatus consultum,* was protocolled, and quoted as a *patrum auctoritas,* as the old sense of the term *patres* became fainter. Cf. Mommsen, Römische Forschungen, 233—249.

§ 12. **quod diu p.** Cf. Cic. Phil. II. *utinam aliquando dolor populi Romani pariat, quod jam diu parturit.*

§ 13. **sinu facto.** This kind of symbolic act was of frequent occurrence in the ceremonial usage of Roman law and diplomacy, as in the contracts of marriage and sale. Compare its use also by the Hebrew Prophets. *Sinus,* a fold in the dress which might serve as a pocket.

§ 14. **iterum** 'in reply,' not qualifying *sinu effuso*, but the whole sentence.

c. XIX. § 1. **ante...Sagunto.** We should naturally expect *post Saguntum excisam* to balance the *ante.* The feminine participle seems used *per synesim* of *urbem* understood with *Saguntum* as Mela II. 6. 92 *S. fide inclitam* and an Inscr. C. I. L. II. 3836, *ob restitutam Saguntum.* The feminine form *Saguntus* is only known in later writers Juv. XV. 114, Florus I. 22. *Disceptare* varies the form of the phrase for *disceptatio,* which would correspond to *percontatio.*

§ 2. **Nam si.** There is here an ellipse 'though the Romans had arguments to urge, for &c.' Fabri.

P. 20. **quid.** 'To what purpose,' 'in what respect.'

§ 3. **diserte additum.** 'It had been expressly provided that it was to be binding only subject to the approval of the commons.' Polyb. III. 22 inserts a full account of the various treaties between Rome and Carthage, as copied by him from

old documents at Rome, the very language of which had become obsolete, and as such they were probably distasteful to Livy, who had little love for monumental evidence, and seldom consults it. For *diserte* Cicero uses *dilucide, aperte, plane, definite, nominatim*, v. Nägelsbach, p. 235.

ita...si, as 17. 6 and 19. 4 'on condition that.'

censuisset, a word not commonly used of the commons. Fabri quotes xxxi. 7. 14, *quae patres censuerunt vos jubete.*

tot annorum... i.e. 8 or 9 years.

§ 5. **receptos in fidem**, i.e. where the honour of the state was pledged to them. It may be convenient to quote from Nägelsbach p. 165 the analysis of the different shades of meaning of *fides*. It seems to pass through an active, neuter, and passive sense, both as (1) a state of mind, and (2) a quality of things.

(1) *a.* 'trust' cf. *ea peritis amnis vix fidem fecerint*, xxi. 47. 5.
b. 'trustworthiness.' *dubiæ fidei videbatur*, i. 54. 5.
c. 'credit.' *fides nuntiantibus fuit*, iii. 43. 6.

(2) *a.* 'guarantee. *vestra causa me...loqui vel ea fides sit*, xxi. 13. 3.
β. 'certainty.' *plus famæ habiturum quam fidei*, ii. 10. 11.
γ. 'pledged troth.' *receptos in fidem.*

tantum ne. An elliptical expression, in which we may supply *æquum censeret* from above, or 'on the understanding that.' Fabri quotes Ovid Rem. 714 *nec solum faciem, mores quoque confer et artes, tantum judicio ne tuus obsit amor.* Cf. 52. 4 *modo ne quid moverent.*

§ 6. **ut adirent et...** The MSS. have *ut* repeated, in which case the second *ut* would explain the object of the visit (*adirent*), but it is awkward in form, and Madvig's correction is probably right.

§ 7. **Bargusii.** Perh. to be identified with the Bergistani of xxxiv. 21. 6.

quia tædebat. This cannot refer to the *Bargusii*, as they lived too far north to be subject to Carthage. The clause must refer to the *trans Hiberum pop.* W.

§ 8. **Volciani.** The exact position of this people is unknown.

§ 9. **Quæ verecundia.** 'What a modest request this is.' *postulare* is in appos. with *verecundia* like xxii. 14. 14 *stultitia est sedendo aut votis debellari credere posse.* All the MSS. have *Saguntini* after *fecerunt* instead of *Saguntinos* which some

editors prefer. In 17. 4 *bellum* the subject of the chief clause is inserted in the relative sentence, but it is much bolder to turn the object of the verb into a nominative attracted to the relative. Madvig regards the word as a gloss which has slipped into the text from the margin.

§ 10. **documentum**, 'warning.' Cf. v. 51. 7, *tantum pœnarum dedimus ut terrarum orbi documento essemus*, and Præf. 7, *omnis exempli documenta.*

P. 21, c. xx. § 1. **gentis**. The early commentators noticed that some tribal name had probably dropped out, as *venerunt* implies a definite subject, and in *ceteris conciliis*, of § 7, implies a definite locality. Dion Cassius says Ναρβωνησίους 'P. ἐκάλουν. Gronovius suggested *Ruscinone* for *in his*, Heusinger proposed *Arverni* before *armati*. For the usage, cf. Cæsar, Bell. Gall. v. 54, *Armatum concilium indicit. Hoc more Gallorum est initium belli, quo lege communi omnes puberes armati convenire coguntur.*

§ 2. **Pœno b. inf.** Here, as elsewhere, Livy implies that the Romans were fully aware of Hannibal's intended march, yet their own inadequate preparations show that they had not realized the danger.

§ 3. **cum fremitu.** 'Noisy.' It is put instead of another adjective after *tantus*.

§ 4. **stolida**. 'Absurd,' another form of *stultus*, from which it was commonly distinguished in sense as 'rude,' 'boorish,' e.g. *stolidum genus Æacidarum | Bellipotentes sunt magis quam sapientipotentes*, and also *sues stolidi* in Ennius. Corssen derives from *star*, cf. *στερεός*, *sterilis*, *stare*, *still*, II. 156.

censere. This is an awkward pleonasm if it is explanatory of *postulatio* 'request which proposed that' &c., like the Greek *ἀξιοῦν*. It might be taken, though less probably, with *ipsos* 'that the Gauls should vote' &c.

avertere is most common, though the reading of the MSS. is *advertere*, which W. adopts.

§ 6. **agro pelli.** Refers to the R. colonies in Cisalpine Gaul which roused such resentment at Cremona and Placentia.

stipendium. Here the ordinary taxes or tribute, not as I. 5.

cetera ind. 'The other indignities' practised by a dominant race.

§ 7. **Massiliam.** Rome had long since formed alliance with this colony of the Phocæans, whose rising power had of old excited the jealousy of her neighbours on the mainland, and of her Phœnician rivals in the trade of those waters. Her alliance with Rome brought advantage to both sides, and was long honourably maintained.

§ 8. **inquisita cum cura ac fide** is the subject and *cognita* the predicate of the sentence; the relative is omitted with the former, as often by Livy.

praeoccupatos iam ante. This pleonasm is in Livy's style. Cf. xlii. 47. 2, *ut omnia opportuna loca præoccupari ante ab eo potuerint*, xxxvi. 17. 12, *satis undique provisum, anteque præcautum est.* So xxi. 32. 7, *prius præcipere*, x. 41. 5, *ex ante præparato.*

cuius...est must be taken parenthetically as a remark of the writer. Otherwise it should be in the subj., as part of an orat. obliq.

§ 9. **haud ita.** Fabri observes that Livy prefers this to the *non ita*, used exclusively by Cicero.

P. 22. **transmisisse.** The verb is often used absolutely of the crossing of the sea, and here of a river. Cf. 17. 6, 51. 4.

c. xxi. § 1. **seque non ducem.** This sentence is made to follow *auditis*, as the news from Carthage included the demand for his surrender, hence *causam belli.* Cf. i. 13. 1, *nos causa belli.*

§ 3. **socii**, the term applied in Roman usage to the Italian races, is here employed of the conquered dependents of Carthage.

pacatis. 'Reduced to submission,' in the sense in which *pax Romana* was spoken of.

§ 8. **ad edictum**, i.e. *diem* or *locum.* Cf. *diem edicere ad conveniendum.*

§ 9. **gentium.** The Spanish tribes.

Herculi. Gades was an early colony of the Phœnicians, which had fallen into the hands of Carthage after the capture of Tyre. Here was a famous shrine of the Hercules, or Melcarth, whose fabled wanderings reflected the enterprising spirit of the Phœnician traders. Like the Hague='sGravenhage, the name meant 'a fence.' Cf. Avien. O. M. 267, *Punicorum lingua conseptum locum Gaddir vocabat.*

§ 10. **partiens curas.** Cf. xxii. 7. 10, *tot in curas dispertiti eorum animi erant.*

P. 23, § 11. **ab Sicilia.** 'From the side of Sicily.' See the instructions of Sempronius, 17. 6. On the form of the

phrase cf. xxviii. 6. 9, *oppidum ab terra munitum*, viii. 17. 7, *escensionem a Pæsto facientem.*

mutuis pigneribus. This has been ever the military policy of empires doubtful of the loyalty of their various nationalities. *Pignus* connected with *pangere*, *pacit*, *pacisci*, *pax.*

stipendia facere for *mereri*. *Stipendia* passed from the sense of 'pay' to that of 'service,' somewhat as 'campaign' was transferred from the 'open field' to 'service in the field.'

§ 12. **cætratos.** Nearly equivalent to the πέλτασται of Greek writers. The *cætra* was a leathern buckler used by the Spaniards. Verg. Æn. xii. 732, *lævas cætra tegit.*

funditores. The Roman *funda* was probably borrowed from Greece with the name itself (σφενδόνη), thus against these Baliaric slingers they used Sicilian xxii. 37. 3, and afterwards Achæan xxxviii. 29. 4. They seem to have been most useful in sieges, and the *glandes* which they hurled are now found on the scenes of memorable sieges. They are leaden globes pointed, and sometimes inscribed with contemptuous words. C. I. L. i. p. 188.

Baliares. Polyb. iii. 33 says the islands and the inhabitants received their name from their skill as slingers. Diod. v. 17, Βαλλιαρεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ βάλλειν ταῖς σφενδόναις λίθους μεγάλους. But the name is more likely to be Phœnician than Greek.

§ 13. **conquisitoribus.** 'Recruiting officers.' Cf. 11. 13, xxv. 22. 4, *conquisitio volonum.*

civitates. These were very numerous near Carthage, 300 being mentioned in Zeugitana alone. But Polybius, while agreeing with the numerical data in the text, refers these *civitates* to τῶν Μεταγωνίτων καλουμένων. He gives his authority for these muster-rolls in a bronze tablet which he had seen in the temple at Lacinium, near Croton, set up there by order of H. himself, on a promontory which is still called Capo delle Colonne, from the remains of the great temple. Livy's account is probably taken from an annalist, not from a monument, which he would certainly not have gone far to inspect.

eosdem, taken with *millia* by constr. *ad synesin*, as xxvii. 16. 4, *millia triginta servilium capitum dicuntur capti.*

c. xxii. § 1. **atque id eo.** Döring's correction for *atque ideo* from the *adque haud ideo* of all MSS. Cf. Cæs. B. G. v. 1. 2, *atque id eo magis.*

§ 2. **viro impigro.** Diodorus speaks of Hasdrubal as, without dispute, the best general of his time, after Hannibal.

Liguribus. They had been several centuries before enlisted in the armies of Carthage, Herod. i. 165, and joined H. in force on his arrival in Cisalpine Gaul. The Roman writers speak of them as hardy peasants *assueti malo*, cf. Vergil *Æn.* xi. 700, and they held out stoutly long after the rest of Italy had been subdued.

quingentis, like the *quinquaginta* in the next section, is supplied from the parallel account of Polybius.

§ 3. **Libyphœnices.** The Phœnician settlers who had many centuries before settled in the interior of Africa, were supposed to have come through Sidon, and to be agricultural tribes dispossessed perhaps by Joshua from Palestine. As such they betook themselves not to trade but husbandry in their new homes, and by their mixture with the natives gave rise to a new race, whose name implies this fusion, like the Celtiberi, or the mixed race in the South of Spain, where the Carthaginians continued the system of colonies near the coast. Diod. xx. 55.

ad mille octingenti. *Ad* has come to be used adverbially =*fere*, without affecting the case of the numeral, as iv. 59. 9, *quorum ad duo millia et quingenti vivi capiuntur*, or viii. 18. 6, *ad viginti matronis accitis.*

Ilergetum ex Hisp. This seemed suspicious to Schweighæuser, who noted (ap. Polyb. iii. 33) that they are the only force here ascribed to Spain, which must have furnished a larger contingent, and that there is no such addition as *ex Hispania* in the corresponding passage of Polyb., where the MSS. have *Λεργετῶν.* He believed therefore that in both texts the name of some unknown African tribe must have been changed by mistake for that of a known Spanish one.

§ 4. **qua parte belli.** A phrase used by Livy (cf. 17. 8) for *qua parte copiarum* of 41. 4 and 53. 1. Contrast the petty naval forces here specified with the immense fleets which fought in the 1st war. There is an ellipse of *tantum* before *triginta*, somewhat as in *ita producto*, 5. 9.

aptæ remigio. Cf. *cælum stellis aptum*, Verg. Æn. iv. 482.

P. 24, § 5. **Onusam.** A very uncertain reading taken from xxii. 20. 4. The MSS. have *omissa.* Gronovius proposed to read *Etovissa*, which Ptolemy ii. 6 mentions as an inland city of the Edetani.

maritima ora. The MSS. commonly have the acc. Heerwagen compares the use of the *abl.* in xxii. 18. 6, Fabius... *agmen...jugis ducebat.*

§ 6. **ducem in It.** Polyb. III. 47 protests at the folly of the writers who introduce such marvellous incidents into the story of the war. Some spoke of a God, or Hero, actually guiding H. through the mountains. The account of the vision in the text is probably derived from Cælius Antipater. Cf. the like account in Cic. de divin. I. 24. 49. For ominous dreams, cf. Tac. Ann. I. 65, II. 14.

proinde seq. Cf. 30. 11. *Proinde* is almost always used by Livy, either with the imperative in *oratio dir.*, or the corresponding subj. in *orat. obl.* Yet in III. 57. 4 it is used with an infinitive, *proinde...se judicem illi ferre.*

§ 7. **cura ingenii h.** 'From the curiosity natural to man.' Fabri compares XLII. 39. 1, *inerat cura insita mortalibus videndi congredientes regem et legatos.*

§ 8. **serpentem.** The serpent plays a great part in the marvellous machinery of ancient poetry, as well as in the old religions of the world.

cum fragore. Equivalent to an adjective, 'thunderstorm.'

§ 9. **pergeret porro ire.** Cf. I. 37. 6, *pergit porro (exercitum) in agrum Sabinum inducere.*

c. XXIII. § 1. **præmissis.** These precautions were taken, according to Polybius, before Hannibal's plans were formed, and he was probably determined in his route by the envoys from Gaul.

transitus. Used by Livy both for the passes or roads (cf. XXXVIII. 2. 10, *transitus insedere*) and for the passage over them, XXXVII. 7. 13, *viæ ubi transitus difficiles.* Fabri.

nonaginta. Polyb. agrees with this estimate, and makes him leave 11,000 with Hanno, and dismiss as many more. His losses on the way further reduced his numbers to 59,000 when he crossed the Rhone, and to 20,000 foot and 6,000 horse after the passage over the Alps.

§ 2. **Ilergetes.** Livy had spoken of them in the last chapter, as if already subject to Carthage. Pliny mentions them as on the coast about Subur, and the river Rubricatus, the present Llobregat. Their town (Atanagrum, 61. 6) was probably destroyed and disappeared.

Ausetani. Whose town Ausa mentioned by Ptolemy sunk to a mere *vicus*, and so became Vich de Osona in Upper Catalonia.

Lacetania. The MSS. have Aquitania, but as this lay north of the Pyrenees, Sigonius corrected it to Lacetania, the seat of a *devia et silvestris gens*, mentioned in xxviii. 24. 4, and in 3 places of xxxiv. 20, as also in Pliny iii. 22 and Sallust Hist. ii. 5. Strabo speaking seemingly of the same tribe as γνωριμώτατον, iii. 4. 10, on the slope of the Pyrenees towards Osca and Ilerda, calls them Ἰακκητανοί, as also does Ptolemy, ii. 6. 72. Mommsen suggests that the name began with a consonant which was between I and L, something like the Spanish ll=lj, and that the Romans took one part and the Greeks another of the composite sound. We should probably distinguish from this tribe the one referred to in 60. 3. Cf. Hübner in Hermes i. 337.

oræ. The strip of coast through which the roads must run.

§ 4. **inexsuperabili Alp.** As if the Spaniards were likely to know much of the Alps, or of Hannibal's plans. Throughout Livy assumes that all was patent beforehand.

P. 25, § 5. **revocare aut...** 'It would be hazardous to summon them to return, as he might have to use force to detain them.' On this use of *aut* cf. xxii. 39. 8.

§ 6. **remisit.** In sending so many home H. showed his reliance on moral forces as distinct from numbers, like Gideon at the well of Harod.

et ipsos. Altered by Madvig and others from the *et ipse* of all MSS. Fabri however defends the MSS. reading by a number of passages from Livy in which *et ipse* is used to mark a contrast not expressed but implied, as here it might refer to the Carpetani, whose impatience H. had not noticed.

c. xxiv. § 1. **Iliberri.** The modern Elne, so called from Helena, the mother of Constantine. It is here indeclinable, though the form Iliberrim is used below, as if from Iliberris, and other Spanish towns have like ending, as Iliturgis, Cissis, Bacasis. Strabo speaks of river and town both Ἰλίβιρρις. There was also a town of the same name in the South of Spain, near the site of Granada, whence probably the Sierra d' Elvira.

§ 2. **Ruscinonem.** La tour de Roussillon.

§ 3. **misit, colloqui.** The oratio obl. often follows directly on *mittere oratores, literas*, &c. Cf. viii. 19. 10, *literis Romam missis, in officio Fundanos esse.* Fabri.

[et]. 'And therefore he proposed,' W. Madvig regards it as out of place, as the orat. dir. would run *colloqui vobiscum volo; vel vos propius accedite, vel...*

§ 4. **hospitem...non hostem.** Livy much affects the *paronomasia*, I. 58. 10, *hostis pro hospite*, VI. 26. 1, *hospitaliter magis quam hostiliter.*

§ 5. **hæc.** For omission of verb cf. 42. 1, *hac apud Romanos consul.*

gravanter. Livy more often uses *gravate*, also *gravatim.*

cum bona pace. 'Quite unmolested.' In 32. 6 the phrase is coupled with a gen. *Gallorum.*

c. xxv. § 1. **In Italiam.** These words if taken with *transmiserunt* may seem too remote an object for the safe-conduct of the Gallic chieftains. They should probably be taken with *perlatum erat*, and are further defined by the repetition of *Romam.*

§ 2. **quum...defecerunt.** *Quum* is used with the historical perfect to imply simultaneous occurrence. Livy even employs the historical infinitive, though rarely, in this sense with *quum.*

perinde ac si. Polyb. III. 34 explains that the Cisalpine Gauls had already sent to Hannibal, and encouraged him to cross the Alps by promises to guide him thither, and rise against Rome. The late war had left rankling memories behind it.

The Boii are represented by Livy v. 35 as making their way across the Alps with the Lingones, and finding the North already occupied with Gallic settlers. They crossed the Po therefore, and spread south of the Æmilian way under the Apennines, towards the Hadriatic. So restless were they to the last that the Romans found it needful to remove them to the borders of Pannonia, where they perished utterly in wars with the neighbouring Dacæ. Strabo v. 1. 6.

The Insubres were the most numerous and powerful tribe of the Cisalpine Gauls, Polyb. II. 17. They were formed of a number of distinct tribes, described by Livy v. 34 as crossing the Alps in early times, and founding Mediolanum (Milan), after the name of a city of the Ædui in Gaul.

P. 26. colonias. These illustrate the Roman system of colonization which did so much to consolidate their empire, and which marked from time to time each successive wave of conquest. They were of two classes, the Roman strictly so

called, consisting entirely of citizens, and planted especially upon the coast, or on the great roads, to bar the way of an invader; and the Latin, in which the peoples of Latium, and of other allied races, were invited to take part, which were settled on ground lately won, and served as garrisons on a disputed frontier. These were therefore doubly useful, as holding in check dangerous enemies, and as pledges for the fidelity of old allies, who could look only to Rome for help in their distant homes.

§ 3. **triumviri.** Commissioners were commonly appointed to direct the work of the *agrimensores*, which was carried out with scrupulous nicety on traditional principles, and to assign the allotments, the size of which was determined by the senate or commons. Polyb. III. 40 says that there were 6000 colonists in each, and that they were directed to be on the spot within 30 days. Note the anomaly of the form *triumviri*, *duumviri*, which grew probably out of the use of the singular *triumvir*, as one of a board of three.

Mutina was itself a Roman colony, Polyb. III. 40, though Livy states that it was colonized with Parma in 184 B.C. (L. XXXIX. 55). That the Romans chose well the sites of their colonies is illustrated by the importance of the towns of Modena, Piacenza and Cremona.

§ 5. **Id quoque dubium.** As the walls were already built, there seems reason to doubt whether the commission was not sent for some other purpose than to assign the allotments.

§ 6. **ad artes rudis.** Cf. XXII. 2. 4, *mollis ad talia gens*, I. 9. 6, *ad muliebre ingenium efficaces preces*, Cic. Fam. 10. 17. 2, *ad omnia pericula princeps*, and other cases where the gerundive, such as *subeunda* in the last example, is constantly omitted. Cf. Nägelsbach, p. 339.

pigerrima... The Latin writers usually describe the Gauls as formidable in the first onset, but as incapable of sustained effort. Cf. X. 27. 3, *G. primo impetu feroces esse.. Gallorum corpora intolerantissima laboris atque æstus fluere.*

§ 7. **obsides.** These hostages had been given at the close of the late war with the Gauls.

§ 8. **esset.** The singular verb used for the compound subject *Mutina præsidiumque.*

L. Manlius. Cf. 17. 7.

effusum. 'In loose order,' opposed to *quadratum* of 5. 16. Cf. 46. 9, *effuse cedendo.*

§ 9. **inexplorato.** This absolute use of neut. participle is common in Livy, as *edicto* x. 36. 7, *sublato* xxii. 20. 6, *explorato* xxiii. 42. 9, *comperto*, *cognito*, *audito*, *palam facto*, &c.

præcipitat. Some read the pres. pass. instead of the neut. which is most usual as Cic. p. P. Sulla, *præcipitante republica*, and Verg. Æn. ii. 8, *nox humida cælo præcipitat.* The MSS. have *præcipitatus*, omitting the *est.*

emersit. For the use of this verb to express the passage from darkness to light, or difficulty to safety, Heerwagen quotes ix. 10. 1, *emersisse civitatem ex obnoxia pace*, xxv. 38. 10, *ex omni sævitia fortunæ emersuram.*

P. 27, § 13. **Gallis territandi et p. R.** Note the *chiasmus* which is so common in Livy.

Tannetum. Somewhat loosely described as *propinquum Pado.* It was a few miles from Parma, on a little tributary of the Po.

contendere. Probably the perfect, though its form in *ere* made it liable to confusion with the hist. inf.

§ 14. **Brixia** (Brescia) was the capital of the Cenomani (Livy xxxii. 30), which was the only Gallic tribe which sided with Rome in this war. Cf. 55. 4.

c. xxvi. § 1. **tumultus.** Cf. *tumultuatum*, 16. 4.

§ 2. **una leg.** The scanty forces scarcely bear out Livy's account of the alarm at Rome, and the delay of Scipio in marching to meet Hannibal shows how little the Romans realized their danger, and with what neglect they moved in the early stages of the war.

§ 3. **Salyum.** These occupied the coast between Antipolis and Massilia, and were a Ligurian tribe, Strabo iv. 1.

pervenit. More definitely ἧκε πεμπταῖος, on 5th day, Polybius iii. 41.

§ 4. **ad proximum.** τὸ Μασσαλιωτικόν, Polyb. iii. 41.

pluribus. Strabo iv. 1. 8 counts five mouths as given by Timæus, two by Polybius, seven by others.

§ 5. **necdum satis**, i.e. as his soldiers had hardly yet recovered from the sea-sickness caused by the tossing on the sea. There seems to have been much neglect on Scipio's part, for his first care should have been to prevent the passage

of the Rhone, and bar the road to Italy, or by hanging on his rear to cripple H. before he arrived upon the scene of his intended operations.

auxiliaribus G. These served as mercenaries with the Massilians. Polyb.

§ 6. **Volcarum.** Strabo (IV. 1. 12) distinguishes the Volcæ Tectosages, whose centre was Tolosa (Toulouse), from the V. Arecomici, round Nemausus (Nismes). The route of H. is here left indefinite, but probably he made for Nemausus, from Ruscino. Polyb. III. 42 marks the point of the crossing the Rhone as four days' march from the mouth, where the channel was not broken by islands. This was probably Roquemaure.

P. 28, § 7. **eorum ipsorum.** The gen. governed by *quos*, i. e. such even of the same tribe, as had not been able to tear themselves from home. Cf. IV. 33. 7, *Fidenatium qui supersunt ad urbem Fidenas tendunt.*

sedes suæ. Used like the *οἶκος φίλος* of the G. This is more characteristic than to assume an inversion of constr. for *qui sedes suas.* For the use of *tenere* Heerwagen compares v. 54. 1, *adeo nihil tenet solum patriæ.*

§ 8. **lintriumque.** More definitely put in Polybius, who refers to the carrying trade from the ports on the lower Rhone, in which these tribes took an active part. Corssen connects *linter* with *πλυντήρ*, like *lanx* with *πλάξ*, *latus* with *πλάτυς*, *later* with *πλίνθος*.

§ 9. **nihil dummodo.** For this equivalent for *nihil nisi ut* Fabri compares I. 34. 6, *oblita ingenitæ erga patriam caritatis, dummodo virum honoratum videret.*

c. XXVII. § 1. **Iamque.** Polyb. says 'in two days.'

viri. Foot-soldiers. Usually opposed to *equi*, not *equites*, but Silius It. IX. 569 has *magna voce trahens equitemque virosque.*

§ 2. **Bomilcaris.** In Polyb. *Βοαμίλκου τοῦ βασιλέως.*

vigilia prima. The first three hours of the night, which was divided into four such watches.

§ 4. **Ad id.** 'The Gallic guides provided for the purpose informed him that about five and twenty miles higher up, the

river, as it flowed round a little island, offered a crossing-place which was broader where the stream parted, and for that reason shallower.'

ostendere is used somewhat boldly with *amnem* as subject, but the reasons specified serve to justify the tense.

§ 5. **Hispani.** This detail is peculiar to Livy, who in other respects agrees closely with Polybius iii. 42.

mole. 'Trouble.' So for moral importance, vi. 14. 1, *major domi exorta moles coegit acciri Romam dictatorem*, vi. 19. 1, *de imminenti mole libertatis.* Cf. 22. 9.

caetris incubantes. 'On their bucklers.' Here as often the Latin participle takes the place of the English preposition, as *manu tenens perducit, phalangis subjectis admovent,* which Nägelsbach compares with it, p. 329.

§ 6. **alius,** for *reliquus.* Cf. i. 12. 10, *alia Romana acies audacia regis accensa fundit Sabinos.*

P. 29, § 7. **tempori deesset.** So *occasioni, fortunæ, libertati, legi deesse,* in the sense of 'neglect,' or 'fail in duty.'

§ 8. **Iam.** In Polyb. more definitely 'on the 5th night.'

naves. Madvig's suggestion for the *nantes* of all MSS. which was hard to translate; they answer to the λέμβοι, while *lintres* corresponds to the μονόξυλα of Polyb. whose description is here clear and definite; the *fere* implies that all the *naves* were not appropriated to their use.

Navium agmen. 'A line of vessels crossed higher up the stream to break the force of the current, and secured still water for the punts which crossed below.'

transmittens is used intrans. as 20. 9.

§ 9. **pars magna nantes.** The close connexion of singular and plural for the same subject is an awkward *constr. ad synesim*, though not unfrequent in Livy. Cf. iv. 33. 7, *Veientium maxima pars Tiberim effusi petunt.*

c. xxviii. § 2. **nautarum militumque.** The copula here is often omitted in the MSS., and some editors think that the hurry of the scene is reflected in the phrase.

et qui...et qui. Referring to the two sets *naut. mil.*

Liguribus. They had been several centuries before enlisted in the armies of Carthage, Herod. i. 165, and joined H. in force on his arrival in Cisalpine Gaul. The Roman writers speak of them as hardy peasants *assueti malo,* cf. Vergil Æn. xi. 700, and they held out stoutly long after the rest of Italy had been subdued.

quingentis, like the *quinquaginta* in the next section, is supplied from the parallel account of Polybius.

§ 3. **Libyphœnices.** The Phœnician settlers who had many centuries before settled in the interior of Africa, were supposed to have come through Sidon, and to be agricultural tribes dispossessed perhaps by Joshua from Palestine. As such they betook themselves not to trade but husbandry in their new homes, and by their mixture with the natives gave rise to a new race, whose name implies this fusion, like the Celtiberi, or the mixed race in the South of Spain, where the Carthaginians continued the system of colonies near the coast. Diod. xx. 55.

ad mille octingenti. *Ad* has come to be used adverbially =*fere,* without affecting the case of the numeral, as iv. 59. 9, *quorum ad duo millia et quingenti vivi capiuntur,* or viii. 18. 6, *ad viginti matronis accitis.*

Ilergetum ex Hisp. This seemed suspicious to Schweighæuser, who noted (ap. Polyb. iii. 33) that they are the only force here ascribed to Spain, which must have furnished a larger contingent, and that there is no such addition as *ex Hispania* in the corresponding passage of Polyb., where the MSS. have *Λεργετῶν.* He believed therefore that in both texts the name of some unknown African tribe must have been changed by mistake for that of a known Spanish one.

§ 4. **qua parte belli.** A phrase used by Livy (cf. 17. 8) for *qua parte copiarum* of 41. 4 and 53. 1. Contrast the petty naval forces here specified with the immense fleets which fought in the 1st war. There is an ellipse of *tantum* before *triginta,* somewhat as in *ita producto,* 5. 9.

aptæ remigio. Cf. *cælum stellis aptum,* Verg. Æn. iv. 482.

P. 24, § 5. **Onusam.** A very uncertain reading taken from xxii. 20. 4. The MSS. have *omissa.* Gronovius proposed to read *Etovissa,* which Ptolemy ii. 6 mentions as an inland city of the Edetani.

maritima ora. The MSS. commonly have the acc. Heerwagen compares the use of the *abl.* in xxii. 18. 6, Fabius... *agmen...jugis ducebat.*

§ 6. **ducem in It.** Polyb. iii. 47 protests at the folly of the writers who introduce such marvellous incidents into the story of the war. Some spoke of a God, or Hero, actually guiding H. through the mountains. The account of the vision in the text is probably derived from Cælius Antipater. Cf. the like account in Cic. de divin. i. 24. 49. For ominous dreams, cf. Tac. Ann. i. 65, ii. 14.

proinde seq. Cf. 30. 11. *Proinde* is almost always used by Livy, either with the imperative in *oratio dir.*, or the corresponding subj. in *orat. obl.* Yet in iii. 57. 4 it is used with an infinitive, *proinde...se judicem illi ferre.*

§ 7. **cura ingenii h.** 'From the curiosity natural to man.' Fabri compares xlii. 39. 1, *inerat cura insita mortalibus videndi congredientes regem et legatos.*

§ 8. **serpentem.** The serpent plays a great part in the marvellous machinery of ancient poetry, as well as in the old religions of the world.

cum fragore. Equivalent to an adjective, 'thunderstorm.'

§ 9. **pergeret porro ire.** Cf. i. 37. 6, *pergit porro (exercitum) in agrum Sabinum inducere.*

c. xxiii. § 1. **præmissis.** These precautions were taken, according to Polybius, before Hannibal's plans were formed, and he was probably determined in his route by the envoys from Gaul.

transitus. Used by Livy both for the passes or roads (cf. xxxviii. 2. 10, *transitus insedere*) and for the passage over them, xxxvii. 7. 13, *viæ ubi transitus difficiles.* Fabri.

nonaginta. Polyb. agrees with this estimate, and makes him leave 11,000 with Hanno, and dismiss as many more. His losses on the way further reduced his numbers to 59,000 when he crossed the Rhone, and to 20,000 foot and 6,000 horse after the passage over the Alps.

§ 2. **Ilergetes.** Livy had spoken of them in the last chapter, as if already subject to Carthage. Pliny mentions them as on the coast about Subur, and the river Rubricatus, the present Llobregat. Their town (Atanagrum, 61. 6) was probably destroyed and disappeared.

Ausetani. Whose town Ausa mentioned by Ptolemy sunk to a mere *vicus*, and so became Vich de Osona in Upper Catalonia.

Lacetania. The MSS. have Aquitania, but as this lay north of the Pyrenees, Sigonius corrected it to Lacetania, the seat of a *devia et silvestris gens,* mentioned in xxviii. 24. 4, and in 3 places of xxxiv. 20, as also in Pliny iii. 22 and Sallust Hist. ii. 5. Strabo speaking seemingly of the same tribe as γνωριμώτατον, iii. 4. 10, on the slope of the Pyrenees towards Osca and Ilerda, calls them Ἰακκητανοί, as also does Ptolemy, ii. 6. 72. Mommsen suggests that the name began with a consonant which was between I and L, something like the Spanish ll=lj, and that the Romans took one part and the Greeks another of the composite sound. We should probably distinguish from this tribe the one referred to in 60. 3. Cf. Hübner in Hermes i. 337.

orae. The strip of coast through which the roads must run.

§ 4. **inexsuperabili Alp.** As if the Spaniards were likely to know much of the Alps, or of Hannibal's plans. Throughout Livy assumes that all was patent beforehand.

P. 25, § 5. **revocare aut...** 'It would be hazardous to summon them to return, as he might have to use force to detain them.' On this use of *aut* cf. xxii. 39. 8.

§ 6. **remisit.** In sending so many home H. showed his reliance on moral forces as distinct from numbers, like Gideon at the well of Harod.

et ipsos. Altered by Madvig and others from the *et ipse* of all MSS. Fabri however defends the MSS. reading by a number of passages from Livy in which *et ipse* is used to mark a contrast not expressed but implied, as here it might refer to the Carpetani, whose impatience H. had not noticed.

c. xxiv. § 1. **Iliberri.** The modern Elne, so called from Helena, the mother of Constantine. It is here indeclinable, though the form Iliberrim is used below, as if from Iliberris, and other Spanish towns have like ending, as Iliturgis, Cissis, Bacasis. Strabo speaks of river and town both Ἰλίβιρρις. There was also a town of the same name in the South of Spain, near the site of Granada, whence probably the Sierra d' Elvira.

§ 2. **Ruscinonem.** La tour de Roussillon.

§ 3. **misit, colloqui.** The oratio obl. often follows directly on *mittere oratores, literas,* &c. Cf. viii. 19. 10, *literis Romam missis, in officio Fundanos esse.* Fabri.

[et]. 'And therefore he proposed,' W. Madvig regards it as out of place, as the orat. dir. would run *colloqui vobiscum volo; vel vos propius accedite, vel...*

§ 4. **hospitem...non hostem.** Livy much affects the *paronomasia*, I. 58. 10, *hostis pro hospite*, VI. 26. 1, *hospitaliter magis quam hostiliter.*

§ 5. **hæc.** For omission of verb cf. 42. 1, *hac apud Romanos consul.*

gravanter. Livy more often uses *gravate*, also *gravatim.*

cum bona pace. 'Quite unmolested.' In 32. 6 the phrase is coupled with a gen. *Gallorum.*

c. xxv. § 1. **In Italiam.** These words if taken with *transmiserunt* may seem too remote an object for the safe-conduct of the Gallic chieftains. They should probably be taken with *perlatum erat*, and are further defined by the repetition of *Romam.*

§ 2. **quum...defecerunt.** *Quum* is used with the historical perfect to imply simultaneous occurrence. Livy even employs the historical infinitive, though rarely, in this sense with *quum.*

perinde ac si. Polyb. III. 34 explains that the Cisalpine Gauls had already sent to Hannibal, and encouraged him to cross the Alps by promises to guide him thither, and rise against Rome. The late war had left rankling memories behind it.

The Boii are represented by Livy v. 35 as making their way across the Alps with the Lingones, and finding the North already occupied with Gallic settlers. They crossed the Po therefore, and spread south of the Æmilian way under the Apennines, towards the Hadriatic. So restless were they to the last that the Romans found it needful to remove them to the borders of Pannonia, where they perished utterly in wars with the neighbouring Dacæ. Strabo v. 1. 6.

The Insubres were the most numerous and powerful tribe of the Cisalpine Gauls, Polyb. II. 17. They were formed of a number of distinct tribes, described by Livy v. 34 as crossing the Alps in early times, and founding Mediolanum (Milan), after the name of a city of the Ædui in Gaul.

P. 26. colonias. These illustrate the Roman system of colonization which did so much to consolidate their empire, and which marked from time to time each successive wave of conquest. They were of two classes, the Roman strictly so

called, consisting entirely of citizens, and planted especially upon the coast, or on the great roads, to bar the way of an invader; and the Latin, in which the peoples of Latium, and of other allied races, were invited to take part, which were settled on ground lately won, and served as garrisons on a disputed frontier. These were therefore doubly useful, as holding in check dangerous enemies, and as pledges for the fidelity of old allies, who could look only to Rome for help in their distant homes.

§ 3. **triumviri.** Commissioners were commonly appointed to direct the work of the *agrimensores*, which was carried out with scrupulous nicety on traditional principles, and to assign the allotments, the size of which was determined by the senate or commons. Polyb. III. 40 says that there were 6000 colonists in each, and that they were directed to be on the spot within 30 days. Note the anomaly of the form *triumviri*, *duumviri*, which grew probably out of the use of the singular *triumvir*, as one of a board of three.

Mutina was itself a Roman colony, Polyb. III. 40, though Livy states that it was colonized with Parma in 184 B.C. (L. XXXIX. 55). That the Romans chose well the sites of their colonies is illustrated by the importance of the towns of Modena, Piacenza and Cremona.

§ 5. **Id quoque dubium.** As the walls were already built, there seems reason to doubt whether the commission was not sent for some other purpose than to assign the allotments.

§ 6. **ad artes rudis.** Cf. XXII. 2. 4, *mollis ad talia gens*, I. 9. 6, *ad muliebre ingenium efficaces preces*, Cic. Fam. 10. 17. 2, *ad omnia pericula princeps*, and other cases where the gerundive, such as *subeunda* in the last example, is constantly omitted. Cf. Nägelsbach, p. 339.

pigerrima... The Latin writers usually describe the Gauls as formidable in the first onset, but as incapable of sustained effort. Cf. X. 27. 3, *G. primo impetu feroces esse.. Gallorum corpora intolerantissima laboris atque æstus fluere.*

§ 7. **obsides.** These hostages had been given at the close of the late war with the Gauls.

§ 8. **esset.** The singular verb used for the compound subject *Mutina præsidiumque.*

L. Manlius. Cf. 17. 7.

effusum. 'In loose order,' opposed to *quadratum* of 5. 16. Cf. 46. 9, *effuse cedendo.*

§ 9. **inexplorato.** This absolute use of neut. participle is common in Livy, as *edicto* x. 36. 7, *sublato* xxii. 20. 6, *explorato* xxiii. 42. 9, *comperto*, *cognito*, *audito*, *palam facto*, &c.

præcipitat. Some read the pres. pass. instead of the neut. which is most usual as Cic. p. P. Sulla, *præcipitante republica*, and Verg. Æn. ii. 8, *nox humida cælo præcipitat.* The MSS. have *præcipitatus*, omitting the *est.*

emersit. For the use of this verb to express the passage from darkness to light, or difficulty to safety, Heerwagen quotes ix. 10. 1, *emersisse civitatem ex obnoxia pace*, xxv. 38. 10, *ex omni sævitia fortunæ emersuram.*

P. 27, § 13. **Gallis territandi et p. R.** Note the *chiasmus* which is so common in Livy.

Tannetum. Somewhat loosely described as *propinquum Pado*. It was a few miles from Parma, on a little tributary of the Po.

contendere. Probably the perfect, though its form in *ere* made it liable to confusion with the hist. inf.

§ 14. **Brixia** (Brescia) was the capital of the Cenomani (Livy xxxii. 30), which was the only Gallic tribe which sided with Rome in this war. Cf. 55. 4.

c. xxvi. § 1. **tumultus.** Cf. *tumultuatum*, 16. 4.

§ 2. **una leg.** The scanty forces scarcely bear out Livy's account of the alarm at Rome, and the delay of Scipio in marching to meet Hannibal shows how little the Romans realized their danger, and with what neglect they moved in the early stages of the war.

§ 3. **Salyum.** These occupied the coast between Antipolis and Massilia, and were a Ligurian tribe, Strabo iv. 1.

pervenit. More definitely ἧκε πεμπταῖος, on 5th day, Polybius iii. 41.

§ 4. **ad proximum.** τὸ Μασσαλιωτικόν, Polyb. iii. 41.

pluribus. Strabo iv. 1. 8 counts five mouths as given by Timæus, two by Polybius, seven by others.

§ 5. **necdum satis**, i.e. as his soldiers had hardly yet recovered from the sea-sickness caused by the tossing on the sea. There seems to have been much neglect on Scipio's part, for his first care should have been to prevent the passage

of the Rhone, and bar the road to Italy, or by hanging on his rear to cripple H. before he arrived upon the scene of his intended operations.

auxiliaribus G. These served as mercenaries with the Massilians. Polyb.

§ 6. **Volcarum.** Strabo (iv. 1. 12) distinguishes the Volcæ Tectosages, whose centre was Tolosa (Toulouse), from the V. Arecomici, round Nemausus (Nismes). The route of H. is here left indefinite, but probably he made for Nemausus, from Ruscino. Polyb. iii. 42 marks the point of the crossing the Rhone as four days' march from the mouth, where the channel was not broken by islands. This was probably Roquemaure.

P. 28, § 7. **eorum ipsorum.** The gen. governed by *quos*, i. e. such even of the same tribe, as had not been able to tear themselves from home. Cf. iv. 33. 7, *Fidenatium qui supersunt ad urbem Fidenas tendunt.*

sedes suæ. Used like the οἶκος φίλος of the G. This is more characteristic than to assume an inversion of constr. for *qui sedes suas*. For the use of *tenere* Heerwagen compares v. 54. 1, *adeo nihil tenet solum patriæ.*

§ 8. **lintriumque.** More definitely put in Polybius, who refers to the carrying trade from the ports on the lower Rhone, in which these tribes took an active part. Corssen connects *linter* with πλυντήρ, like *lanx* with πλάξ, *latus* with πλάτυς, *later* with πλίνθος.

§ 9. **nihil dummodo.** For this equivalent for *nihil nisi ut* Fabri compares i. 34. 6, *oblita ingenitæ erga patriam caritatis, dummodo virum honoratum videret.*

c. xxvii. § 1. **Iamque.** Polyb. says 'in two days.'

viri. Foot-soldiers. Usually opposed to *equi*, not *equites*, but Silius It. ix. 569 has *magna voce trahens equitemque virosque.*

§ 2. **Bomilcaris.** In Polyb. Βοαμίλκου τοῦ βασιλέως.

vigilia prima. The first three hours of the night, which was divided into four such watches.

§ 4. **Ad id.** 'The Gallic guides provided for the purpose informed him that about five and twenty miles higher up, the

river, as it flowed round a little island, offered a crossing-place which was broader where the stream parted, and for that reason shallower.'

ostendere is used somewhat boldly with *amnem* as subject, but the reasons specified serve to justify the tense.

§ 5. **Hispani.** This detail is peculiar to Livy, who in other respects agrees closely with Polybius iii. 42.

mole. 'Trouble.' So for moral importance, vi. 14. 1, *major domi exorta moles coegit acciri Romam dictatorem*, vi. 19. 1, *de imminenti mole libertatis.* Cf. 22. 9.

cætris incubantes. 'On their bucklers.' Here as often the Latin participle takes the place of the English preposition, as *manu tenens perducit*, *phalangis subjectis admovent*, which Nägelsbach compares with it, p. 329.

§ 6. **alius**, for *reliquus*. Cf. i. 12. 10, *alia Romana acies audacia regis accensa fundit Sabinos.*

P. 29, § 7. **tempori deesset.** So *occasioni*, *fortunæ*, *libertati*, *legi deesse*, in the sense of 'neglect,' or 'fail in duty.'

§ 8. **Iam.** In Polyb. more definitely 'on the 5th night.'

naves. Madvig's suggestion for the *nantes* of all MSS. which was hard to translate; they answer to the λέμβοι, while *lintres* corresponds to the μονόξυλα of Polyb. whose description is here clear and definite; the *fere* implies that all the *naves* were not appropriated to their use.

Navium agmen. 'A line of vessels crossed higher up the stream to break the force of the current, and secured still water for the punts which crossed below.'

transmittens is used intrans. as 20. 9.

§ 9. **pars magna nantes.** The close connexion of singular and plural for the same subject is an awkward *constr. ad synesim*, though not unfrequent in Livy. Cf. iv. 33. 7, *Veientium maxima pars Tiberim effusi petunt.*

c. xxviii. § 2. **nautarum militumque.** The copula here is often omitted in the MSS., and some editors think that the hurry of the scene is reflected in the phrase.

et qui...et qui. Referring to the two sets *naut. mil.*

§ 3. **adverso**...repeats the *ex adverso* of § 2, which is here balanced by *ab tergo.*

§ 4. **utroque vim facere.** 'To offer battle on both sides.'

§ 5. **variat.** Madvig's correction of *variata* of MSS., as *precipitat* for *precipitatus*, 25. 9. Cf. *fama variat*, XXVII. 27. 13. 'Some say that the elephants were crowded together on the bank, and that the most spirited of them being provoked by its driver, followed him as he retreated into the water (and at last took to swimming) and drew the whole herd after it, and that as each grew frightened at the depth and lost its foothold, the force of the current swept it to the opposite bank.' The construction and the thought seem equally confused, there is no MSS. authority for the *inde* inserted before *nantem* by W., yet without it *nantem* is very harsh, and is therefore considered as a gloss by Madvig and Ruperti, the abl. also seems out of place for the clause which states the final result. Why the current should carry them across and not down the stream is unexplained.

P. 30. **timentem altitudinem.** As to the belief that elephants could not swim, cf. Plin. Nat. Hist. VIII. 10. 28, *gaudent amnibus (elephanti) maxime et circa fluvios vagantur, quum alioquin nare propter magnitudinem corporis non possint.*

§ 6. **ad fidem pronius**, 'more credible.'

§ 7. **secunda aqua**, 'down the stream.'

§ 8. The reading of the MSS. *ut cum* before '*elephanti*' is hopeless: Madvig regards it as a corruption which grew out of *est tum.* Others less probably read *et* for *ut* and expunge *ubi*, Usener suggests *tuto jam.* 'The elephants were driven, females in front, along the stationary raft as if it were a highway, and when they crossed into the smaller raft which was moored to it, the hawsers with which this was temporarily fastened were suddenly untied, and it was towed to the opposite bank by a number of light craft.' A like expedient is said to have been tried at Messana in the 1st Punic war.

§ 9. **actuariis** so called from their speed—thus the 'Actuary' was the quick writer.

§ 10. **donec...agerentur.** This use of the subjunctive for a simple fact occurs chiefly in later writers as Tac. Hist. IV. 35, *pugnatum...donec prælium nox dirimeret.* But it may possibly be here explained as giving the reason of the *nihil trepidabant.*

ceteris, 'all its surroundings.' Polyb. says that there were several such rafts, but Livy probably does not imply this.

in altum, often used for the sea, but seldom of a river.

§ 12. **deiectis rect.** Polyb. iii. 46 says that the Indian drivers of these were drowned. He gives a lively picture of them making their way across, each with its proboscis raised aloft above the surface of the water: the rest of his narrative agrees with that of Livy, but he is clearer in the details, and he reserves the passage of the elephants till H. continues his march.

c. xxix. § 1. **traiiciuntur ... miserat.** The sequence of tenses is harsh. Fabri compares ix. 32. 1, *dum hæc geruntur in Samnio, jam omnes Etruriæ populi ad arma ierant.*

P. 31, § 2. **atrocius quam pro numero.** A form often used by Livy, cf. 59. 9, *major quam pro numero jactura*, xxxvi. 10. 12, *latius quam pro copiis*, where *pro* has the meaning of 'in proportion to.'

§ 3. **amplius ducenti.** The omission of *quam* between *amplius*, *minus*, *plus* and the numeral in the nominative is a common feature of Livy's style.

§ 4. **anc. cert. vict.** is a bold construction formed on the analogy of *magni certaminis res erat* which Livy uses.

§ 5. *suus* is not unfrequently used with reference to a *casus obliquus*, cf. 43. 17, *cui...sua decora*, 44. 8, *quos sua terra suus ager acceperat.*

nec Scipioni. 'Nor could S. decide on any plan, save that of,' &c. Cf. 30. 1, *Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit.* Polyb. makes him start at once in pursuit of H. after his cavalry return from reconnoitring the camp of H.

§ 6. **cum eo qui...exercitus.** Note the attraction of subject to the relative clause as Hor. Sat. i. 4. 2, *alii quorum Comœdia prisca virorum.*

avertit ... In Polyb. there is a graphic picture of the appearance of the Gauls at the camp of H., but their arguments seem addressed rather to the soldiers than their general, whose mind was long made up to push on with all speed for Italy, especially as the season was advanced. He sends his cavalry down the river to hold the Romans in check while his elephants crossed, and the infantry pushed on. Great as might be the risk of the passage through the Alps, and Hannibal could scarcely have foreseen it all, yet Cisalpine Gaul was the only side from which Italy was vulnerable, now that Rome was mistress of the sea. There was a population akin in race to

the Spanish Celts in his own army, and bitterly opposed to Rome who was fastening on them the grip of her frontier garrisons.

reguli. Magali. Polyb. III. 44 speaks of τοὺς βασιλίσκους τοὺς περὶ Μάγιλον; *a* and *i* are often interchanged in foreign names like Mas*i*nissa, Mithr*i*dates, Mass*i*lia.

integro bello aggr. 'To open the war with the attack on I.' The words *n. a. libatis*, &c., further explain *integro b.* with which cf. *res integra*, II. 5. 1, *spes integra*, IV. 24. 2, and *fontibus integris*, Hor. Od. I. 26. 6.

§ 7. **iter Alpesque.** *Hendiadys* for 'march across the Alps,' to which *rem* refers. Cf. I. 11. 1, *per occasionem ac solitudinem.*

utique is frequently used by Livy. The *-que* gives indefiniteness to the meaning of *uti*, and the compound = 'anyhow,' 'at all events,' and hence 'especially,' 'certainly,' cf. 38. 8, 48. 5, 54. 9.

c. XXX. § 1. **ipsi sent. stetit** corresponds to *Scip. stare sent.* of 29. 5.

versat an. Cf. I. 58. 3, *versare in omnes partes muliebrem an.*

§ 2. **Mirari.** The infinitives in this speech are differently introduced, most of them only as *oratio obl.*, some *indignantis* as *subsistere* § 6, and *cepisse* § 11, some interrog. as § 9 and § 10.

§ 3. **quicumque.** There had been no such demand except in the case of Hannibal, but it is a rhetorical exaggeration.

velut ob noxam, 'as criminals.'

P. 32, § 5. **multo maiorem.** According to Polybius they had marched from the strait 8800 stadia, and had 2600 before them; but this as much of the speech only applies to the Africans in the army. H., or rather Livy, identifies all the nationalities with *Carthaginians* in the feeling which he assumes in the army. Notice in our author the absence of such definite details as to distance and time as occur frequently in Polybius.

emensam. One of the deponent partic. in pass. sense which Livy uses.

Italiae. The partitive gen. 'belonged to Italy.' Cf. XXII. 20. 11, *dicionis imperiique R. facti sint.*

§ 6. **quid credentes.** The constr. of the inter. part. here

is more Greek than Latin, = 'and what else could they suppose the Alps to be' &c. Fabri compares xxiv. 26. 7, *conjugem ac liberos de vita dimicare quid obstantes libertati.*

§ 7. **Fingerent.** The equivalent in orat. obl. for the imper. in or. dir.

fauces. A suggestion of Heerwagen for the *paucis* of the MSS.

§ 8. **Ne mai. q. eorum.** Livy v. 34 gives at some length an account of the passage of the Gallic tribes across the Alps in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, and of the various settlements about the Po.

§ 9. **quid...esse.** The constr. implies that a negative idea, *nihil...esse,* is wrapped up in the interr. form.

§ 10. **caput o. t.** is an anachronism of the writer or prolepsis rhetorically, and is somewhat out of place in the mouth of Hannibal.

§ 11. **ea.** Nägelsbach notes that *hæc* is often used comprehensively by Romans of the Roman state and empire. *Si modo hæc stabunt,* Cic. Attic. xii. 19. 1. So probably *ea* in this sentence.

cederent...sperent. The difference in tense probably points to the confidence of Hannibal that the latter alternative would be realized.

campum int. The *campus Martius.* Cf. Juv. x. 155, *actum inquit nihil est nisi Pœno milite portas | frangimus, et media vexillum pono Suburra.*

c. xxxi. § 1. **adversa ripa.** Formed on the analogy of *adverso flumine* 'up the stream.' 27. 3.

P. 33, § 2. **non quia rectior.** The shortest round by the coast must have brought H. at once into conflict with the Romans. There can be little doubt that his route had been planned before with the envoys from Gaul, and that the longer road was partly chosen to bring him into friendly country as he issued from the mountain pass.

§ 3. **minus obviam.** The *tanto* to answer to the *quantum* is here as often omitted.

§ 4. **Quartis castris.** After 4 days' march, at the 4th time of encamping.

Insulam. This was of course the *Insula Allobrogum,* but various attempts have been made to fix it elsewhere, and all

the rivers near have been pressed into the service by the advocates of the various routes.

Ibi Isara. Most MSS. read *Arar*, and as Fabri and others note, Silius Italicus seems to have had this reading before him III. 452. Yet H. could not have reached it in 4 days' march. Two MSS. have *bisarar* and *ibisarar*, which suggests the reading of the text. It is curious that the corresponding passage in Polyb. III. 49 has Σκάρας as the reading of most MSS., for which Casaubon proposed Ἄραρ and Schweighæuser Ἰσάρας. The description of the *insula* in the latter is that of an eye-witness who was struck by its fertility and population, and compared it with the Delta of the Nile.

diversis ex Alp. The Rhone from the Saint Gothard, the Isère from Mont Iseran.

§ 5. **Incolunt prope.** In itself a strange expression as applied to the ins. Allob., but Livy probably is thinking of the point on the Rhone at which H. had arrived, and the *prope* refers to the neighbouring country. Efforts have been made however to prove that the Allobroges were then south of the Isère, and not until later in the *insula*. The term '*prope*' does not go far to prove this, and it has little evidence to rest on. *Incolunt* is used absolutely as I. 1. 3, *qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant.*

gens iam inde. The Allobroges were already a powerful tribe, though their relations with Rome began at a much later date. The account of Pol. III. 49 seems to distinguish between them and the subjects of Brancus, but perhaps does not really do so.

§ 6. **ambigebant.** More commonly used with *de*, as 10. 9, XL. 15. 3.

poterat. The subject to this is the compound notion, *frater et cœtus juniorum.* Cf. 25. 8, *Mutina præsidiumque in periculo esset.*

§ 7. **Huius sed.** 'As this civil feud was very opportunely referred to H. for arbitration.'

peropportuna. Used adverbially. *Rem rejicere* is a phrase often used by Livy in like cases, like the *causam ad senatum remittere* of Tac. Ann. III. 10.

§ 8. **adiutus.** Not only so, but according to Polybius, escorted by the chieftain to the foot of the pass.

§ 9. From this point onwards it is hopeless to reconcile the accounts of the march in Polybius and Livy, who while

agreeing in much of the description, especially in the details which admit of rhetorical treatment, yet widely diverge in local data. The former traces the route almost certainly over the little St Bernard, the latter probably over Mont Genèvre. Ammianus Marcellinus xv. 10 closely follows Livy, as also does Silius Italicus in the lines III. 466:

> *Jamque Tricastinis intendit finibus agmen,*
> *Jam faciles campos, jam rura Vocontia carpit;*
> *Turbidus hic truncis saxisque Druentia lætum*
> *Ductoris vastavit iter.*

Cf. The Appendix 'on the Route of Hannibal.'

recta regione. 'In direct course.' Cf. Lucr. II. 249, and Cic. Verr. v. 176, *si quis tantulum de recta regione deflexerit.*

ad lævam. These words have given much trouble to the interpreters. They have been explained as 'the left hand of Livy sitting in his study,' or 'the left of an army in retreat, which would be equivalent to the ordinary right,' or 'the left bank of the Isère,' or they have been regarded as a mistake for the right hand. They seem to imply Livy's belief that after the proceedings in the island, H. marched down the stream a little way, hearing possibly of Scipio's withdrawal, and then turned off to what was later Augusta Tricastinorum (Aoste).

Vocontiorum. They are localized by Strabo, IV. 6. 4, in the mountain woodland between the Allobroges and Salyes. The Tricorii are placed by Strabo to the east of the Vocontii, or between the Drac and the Durance.

haud usquam impedita. A most unfitting description for the tangled country between the Isère and the Durance.

Druentia. Attempts have been made to identify this with the Arve, the Dranse, or the Drac. It is of course the Druentius of Strabo who calls it ποταμὸς χαραδρώδης, the modern Durance. It is true that it would have been out of the natural course from the Insula, nor would H. in that case have come across the Allobroges. Also Livy's description may suit the lower, but not the upper stream along which the army must have travelled, if at all. He probably took it from some topographer's account, and Lavallée calls it 'la rivière la plus desordonnée de la France,' Geogr. Phys. 186.

§ 11. **vada...gurgites.** These acc. may depend on *præbet*, but more probably on *volvens*, which by zeugma is used in a somewhat different sense with them and with *saxa*.

glareosa is an awkward epithet for *saxa*, unless we take it to mean that the bed was full of rocks and gravel mixed.

P. 34, c. xxxii. § 1. **triduo.** The crossing-place was four days' march from the mouth, we are not told how far from Scipio's camp.

movit, as often, absolutely for *se movit,* or *castra.*

quadr. agmine. Cf. 5. 16, where the words are transposed.

§ 2. **videt.** Here, as 33. 3, two distinct uses of the verb are combined, physical and mental vision.

tutius ita. Because his own troops would be fresh, and those of H. exhausted or thinned by the long march. *Ita* carries a good deal of meaning by implication.

§ 3. **nuda auxiliis.** This policy was aimed at the real base of H's operations, and the source to which he looked for reinforcements. Arnold says, "Had Scipio, at this critical juncture, not sent his army to Spain..., his son would in all probability never have won the battle of Zama." Yet had Scipio been ready with a larger army to attack the wearied troops of H. as they issued from the mountain-pass—and there was nothing to prevent him,—it might have fared ill with the invaders.

§ 4. **ad pell. Hasd.** Scipio can hardly have known as yet the arrangement made by Hannibal before he left Spain.

§ 5. **Genua.** Nothing is known of Genua before this time. It was destroyed by Mago, Livy xxviii. 46. 8, and rebuilt as a *municipium* by Rome, xxx. 1. 10.

eo...exercitus. Cf. on 29. 6.

§ 6. **ab Druentia.** His course would be rather 'along' than 'from' the river, and would certainly not have been '*campestri it.*', for though the route of Polyb. admits for a time of this description, it is out of place in Livy's.

pace incolentium. For the gen. cf. the expression Lucr. v. 1229, *Divom pacem votis adit.*

§ 7. The following description is somewhat absurd as applied to the lower Alpine valleys, and is a bit of fine writing in which Livy gives full scope to his rhetorical taste, working upon the description of some traveller, who exaggerated the horrors of his journey. Note the absence of any sense of the grandeur of mountain scenery, which was possibly, as Macaulay suggests, overpowered by the sense of danger. In general the sense of the picturesque is of modern growth. Polybius, who had himself travelled over the ground, is much more guarded in his language, and guilty of no such exaggerations as Livy.

prius is a pleonasm with *præcepta*, like *præoccupatos ante* in 20. 8.

torrida frigore. Cf. 40. 9, *præusti artus...torrida gelu*, xl. 45. 1, *arbores deusserat hiems*.

§ 8. **Erigentibus.** "As the vanguard was climbing the lower heights." This incident, like most others on the march, occurs also in Polybius, though the localities are quite distinct.

P. 35. **stragem dedissent.** Cf. use of *dare* in such phrases as Verg. Æn. xii. 575, *dant cuneum*, vi. 76, *finem dedit ore loquendi*, and in Lucr. *dare pausam*, *dare motus*. "One is tempted to look at it as a half-conscious reminiscence of the *do* which survives in *credo*, *abdo*, *condo*, &c., and has the same origin as τίθημι and S. *dadhâmi*." Munro, Lucr. iv. 41.

§ 9. **inter confragosa omn.** is a bold construction of which Livy is fond. Cf. ix. 13. 5, *per omnia pacata*, xxiii. 2. 1, *inter corrupta omnia*, xxii. 6. 11, *super cetera extrema*.

§ 10. **Tum per eosdem.** "But when the friendly Gauls had managed to engage the mountaineers in friendly talk, as there was but little difference in their patois, or in manners, they informed him," &c. Strictly we must understand *a montanis* with *abhorrentes*.

dilabi. Often used of soldiers deserting. Cf. xxii. 2. 1, *Gallos si tædio laboris...dilaberentur*.

ex aperto. 'Openly.' For the form cf. § 7, *ex propinquo*, xxii. 7. 4, *ex vano*, *ex æquo*, *ex publico*, *ex antiquo*, *ex composito*, *ex improviso*. So also with *in* and *pro*.

§ 12. **laxatas.** 'Vigilance relaxed,' or more probably 'the outposts thinned.' *laxare* is a favourite word with Livy in metaphorical uses, as ii. 34, *laxare annonam*, 59. 6, *laxare pugnam*, ix. 16. 10, *laxare aliquid laboris*, *laxior locus*, *laxamentum*.

§ 13. **angustias evadit.** Polyb. διήνυε τὰς δυσχωρίας, iii. 51.

tumulis. Livy prefers the abl. without a preposition, with *consedit*, and like verbs.

c. xxxiii. § 2. **arce.** Often used for a natural stronghold as well as a fortified post.

via transire. This use of a modal or local abl. without a

preposition is frequent in Livy, but the expression is bald in its brevity.

§ 3. **immobiles defixit.** A strong phrase in frequent use. Cf. XXII. 53. 6, *quum stupore ac miraculo torpidos defixisset*, where also the adjective has a proleptic sense. We need not accept the fanciful explanation proposed, that it is a figure suggested by the magical use of little images pierced to represent the persons on whom the charms were to be tried.

suo ipsum tumultu agmen. This construction of *ipse* agreeing with the subject, or the object of the sentence, is nearly always preferred to the gen. *ipsius* following *suus*, where the form of the period allows it. Fabri.

§ 4. **quicquid adi.** 'Thinking that any panic occasioned by themselves would be enough to rout them utterly.'

transversis rupibus. The MSS. commonly read *perversis rupibus juxta invia*, &c. This is rejected by Madvig on the ground that *perversæ rupes* is obscure, and *invia decurrere* an unusual construction. He thinks that *per* has slipped out of its place, and dislodged the *trans* of *transversis*. Some editors read *diversis* after a late MS.

§ 5. **simul...simul.** 'Were hard pressed not merely owing to the onset of the enemy, but also to the roughness of the ground.' *Ab* is unusual with a modal abl. like *iniquitate*, especially in Livy.

sibi quoque tendente. 'As each man struggled selfishly to get sooner out of danger.' For the constr. of *sibi* compare Cic. in Verr. II. 8. 22, *Veneri absolvit, sibi condemnat*, Tac. Ann. I. 65, *sibi quisque properus*.

evaderet. Note the different constr. with this verb here and in 32. 13.

P. 36, § 6. **infestum.** 'Dangerous.' Cf. II. 11. 1, *infestum Romanum agmen reddidit*.

repercussæ. 'Re-echoing.' Properly an epithet of *clamores*, not of *valles*.

§ 7. **turba.** 'The crowding.'

in immensum altitudinis. This use of the neut. sing. with a genitive is less common than the neut. plur., except in later writers, but Livy has, X. 32. 6, *multum diei*, V. 37. 5, *immensum loci*, VII. 8. 5, *serum diei*, XLV. 9. 2, *plerumque Europæ*.

deiecit. Constr. prægn. 'caused to fall.'

maxime modo is a favourite phrase with our author. Cf. 38. 1, *hoc maxime modo*, xxxv. 34. 10, *itineris maxime modo*.

§ 8. **suos continuit.** 'Kept his men from going to the rescue.'

§ 9. **interrumpi.** 'A break in the line.'

exutum. 'If the baggage-train were lost.' Used proleptically.

§ 11. **cibo** is supplied without MS. authority, but *captivus* is often used with inanimate objects, as with *arma*, *navigia*, *pecunia*, *solum*, by Livy, and with *vestis* by Vergil, and it cannot here make sense without a subst.

c. xxxiv. § 1. **frequentem.** 'Densely peopled.' Cf. xxxi. 23. 5, *frequentia ædificiis loca*, and xxxv. 1. 6, *acies frequens armatis*. More commonly the abl. is omitted, as *forum frequens*.

populum=canton, or district. *Ut*, qualifies *frequentem*, which should naturally come nearer to it. Cf. xxxii. 33. 9, *Alexander, ut inter Ætolos, facundus*.

suis artibus. Also used of Hannibal, xxii. 16. 5.

§ 2. **oratores veniunt.** The account of Polybius iii. 52 is more graphic in its details of the garlands and olive branches which they bore. τοῦτο γὰρ σχεδὸν πᾶσι τοῖς βαρβάροις σύνθημα φιλίας καθάπερ τὸ κηρύκειον τοῖς Ἕλλησι.

§ 3. **ad fidem.** 'As a guarantee.' Cf. on 19. 5.

P. 37, § 4. **composito agmine.** Drakenborch explains this passage 'not at all as if they were marching through a friendly country, but in fighting order,' as if *sed* were omitted. Fabri reads *incomposito* after one MS. It is more probably 'in line of march not at all arranged for passage through friendly country.'

§ 5. **robore.** 'The main body.'

circumsp. sollicitus. 'Anxiously reconnoitring,' or *omnia* may be taken with *soll.* as *cetera* in *virum cetera egregium* i. 35. 3. Fabri however notes that in Livy we only find *vicem* governed by *soll.*, as in passages like xxviii. 19. 17, *ab sollicitis vicem imperatoris militibus*.

§ 7. **In eos versa.** 'The line of infantry faced towards them, and clearly proved (i.e. by its losses or hard fighting) that if the rear-guard had not been strengthened they must have met with a terrible disaster in that pass.' The use of

fecit after *acies* is awkward: it connects two distinct statements, of the manœuvre of the infantry, and the experience of danger.

accipienda fuerit. Cf. the use of the participle in *-urus* with *fuerit*, as iv. 38. 2, *nec dubium fuit quin si...terga daturi hostes fuerint.*

§ 8. **ad extremum periculi.** Cf. *ad ultimum dimicationis, ad inopiæ ultimum, ad extremum spei,* and like phrases common in Livy.

demittere. 'Risk sending.' Cf. iii. 35. 1, *demissa jam in discrimen dignitas.*

c. xxxv. § 1. **latrocinii.** Often contrasted with *bellum*, or *justum bellum*, as xxix. 6. 2, *latrociniis magis quam iusto bello gerebatur res. Latro,* like *laverna*, from the root λα (λῃις) λάτρις, became naturalized on Italian soil, and gained an unfavourable meaning, Curtius, 326.

§ 2. **novissimum ag.** = rear = *extrema agminis.*

progressi morative. 'Stragglers in front or rear.'

§ 3. **sicut...ita** = 'indeed'...'but.' Cf. § 11, *sicut breviora ita arrect.*

P. 38, § 4. **Nono die.** So Polyb. iii. 53, who however fixes the point from which he reckons, and gives intermediate dates, while Livy does neither. In fact, all his incidents and particulars of time are taken from another route, and do not suit his own; his reference to *errores* is probably to explain the length of time which did not seem needful for the shorter pass which he had chosen.

per invia pleraque. Cf. 32. 9, *confragosa omnia.*

ducentium. 'Absolutely for 'guides.' *Ducentium fraus* is hardly consistent with the promise of the friends from Cisalpine Gaul to be *duces itinerum*, 29. 6.

initæ valles. Cf. 1. 5, *Sicilia S. amissæ.*

§ 5. **stativa**, sc. *castra.*

§ 6. **occid. sidere Verg.** 'As the constellation of the Pleiads was near its setting,' i.e. towards October. Polyb. iii. 54, διὰ τὸ συνάπτειν τὴν τῆς Πλειάδος δύσιν. Pliny ii. 47. 125, *post id (autumni) æquinoctium diebus fere* xliv. *Vergiliarum occasus hiemem inchoat, quod tempus in* iii. *Idus Novembres incidere consuevit.*

§ 7. **nive oppleta.** The climate was probably even more severe than at present, owing to the thick forests which then covered great part of Germany.

§ 8. **prospectus.** A fanciful picture, which is hardly borne out by facts, as no such view can be obtained near the summit of the Mont Genèvre, nor indeed of any other of the passes. The description of Polybius does not imply any such actual view of the plains of Lombardy, for his word *ἐνάργεια* may mean 'evidence' or 'proof' addressed to the reason, and not to the sight. Many unsuccessful attempts have been made to find a likely scene for this speech.

§ 9. **mœnia It.** Cf. Polyb. III. 54, *ἀκροπόλεως φαίνονται διάθεσιν ἔχειν αἱ Ἄλπεις τῆς ὅλης Ἰταλίας.*

transcendere. Infin. after a verb like *dicit*, implied in *ostentat.*

summum. 'At most.' Adverbially as XXXIII. 5. 8, *duo aut summum tres juvenes.*

§ 10. **furta.** 'Stealthy ambuscades,' as Polyb. ibid. *πλὴν τῶν λάθρα κακοποιούντων.* Fabri compares IX. 31. 10, *hostem ultimam spem furto insidiarum temptantem.*

sicut breviora. This generalization is not found in Polyb., and indicates increased knowledge of the Alps since the conquest of Gaul.

§ 12. **neque sustinere se a lapsu.** Cf. XXII. 2. 6.

nec, qui paulum... The reading of the MSS. is here *afflicti*, which is harder. With it the passage would mean 'and if they stumbled but a little, down they fell and could not help slipping further' (lit. 'could not cling to the place where they were dashed to the ground,' cf. Cæs. B. G. VI. 27, *neque si quo afflictæ casu conciderint, erigere sese possunt*). But as their effort would be chiefly to save themselves from falling, Madvig reads *affixi* (as suggested by Drakenborch, cf. III. 68. 8, *hærete affixi contionibus*) as a strong term to express the attempt to keep their footing. *Affligere* and *affigere* are elsewhere confused in the MSS.

vestigium. Perhaps from *ve-*, *στιχ-*, *στειχω*, *στοιχος*, Curtius, 178.

succiderent is a more questionable change for *occiderent.*

c. XXXVI. § 1. **angustiorem.** 'A narrower pass, with walls of rock so steep that.'

ut aegre... This would be absurdly exaggerated if it referred to the ordinary state of the pass. If however we understand it as caused by a recent landslip or avalanche, it would be consistent with experience. There is one spot especially on the Little St Bernard exposed to such casualties, and to this the description of Polybius well applies. He speaks however of the road being carried away, *σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τρία ἡμιστάδια*, but Livy mistaking this, or the language of their common authority, converts it into a precipice of a 1000 feet in depth (if we accept, that is, Valla's almost certain corrections of the meaningless readings of the MSS.). 'This,' says Niebuhr, 'is nonsense, as all must see.'

expeditus. Cf. vii. 34. 3, *collem aditu arduum impedito agmini, expeditis haud difficilem.* So *expediti equites* 'light troops.' *Expedita classis, agmen, venatores*, &c. in Livy.

P. 39, § 2. **admodum** = *maxime, fere, μάλιστα.*

§ 3. **miranti** = *cum admiratione quaerenti* by pregnant use. Cf. i. 41. 1, *mirantium quid rei esset*, iii. 35. 5. Nägelsbach, p. 279, illustrates this by such cases as *dodrantem complere* = *complementi causa adiicere, triarii postremos claudebant* for *claudentes postremi ibant.*

§ 4. **circa.** On use of the adverb cf. note on 7. 5.

circumduceret = *must* take round. On this use of the subj. for *circumducere deberet*, *v.* Madvig, De Finibus ii. 35, who quotes various passages from Cicero and Livy, xl. 37. 3, *non triumphum impedire debuit...sed postero die...nomen deferret.* Cf. also Verg. Æn. ix. 643, *at tu dictis Albane maneres.* Ovid, Tristia iv. 3. 34, *Tristis es: indignor, quod sim tibi causa doloris; non es; at amisso conjuge digna fores.*

§ 5. **super veterem...** 'Over the snow of the last season, which had not melted.' A mass of snow often falls into a ravine or valley, where it is sheltered from the sun's heat, and remains through a whole summer, forming sometimes a great natural bridge, through which a river tunnels for itself a channel. Probably the early historians referred to some such mass which blocked up the spot where H. tried to force a passage. Livy's account would be more natural in the case of a glacier, which was not likely to be met with in their way.

§ 6. **fluentem...** 'The liquid mud formed by the melting snow.'

tabem is the correction of Gronovius for the *labem* of the MSS. It is especially used of any melting substance.

§ 7. **[ut a] lub.** The MSS. read *ut a lubrica*, where the preposition would seem out of place. Sauppe and W. change this to *via*. 'On the slippery track where the ice gave no foothold, but let the feet slide over it all the easier, as it was a steep incline.' Madv. needlessly quarrels with *via* on the ground that there was no road, cf. § 5, but it seems better to omit it as an awkward addition.

adminiculum. Formed from *ad* and *manus* (*manere*) on the analogy of *cubiculum*, *sediculum*. Corssen II. 416.

in levi tantum. 'Rolled in what was only smooth ice or slush of snow.' 'Only,' because no *virgulta*, &c.

§ 8. **connitendo.** T. Faber's correction for the *continendo* of the MSS.

alte concr. 'Frozen to a great depth.'

c. XXXVII. § 2. **ad rupem m.** 'To cut a way through the rock.' Cf. IX. 29. 5, *viam munivit*, of making the Appian way. Polyb. *ἐξοικοδομεῖν τὸν κρημνόν*. *Munitores* are the sappers and miners.

arboribus circa. Whence these came it is hard to say, cf. 36. 7, as also the vinegar, unless it was the soldiers' drink or *posca*, Pliny, XXIII. 1. 57, says *acetum saxa rumpit infusum, quæ non ruperit ignis antecedens*, cf. Juv. X. 153, *Diducit scopulos et montem rumpit aceto*. The details in this section do not occur in Polyb.

P. 40, § 3. **molliunt anfr.** 'Relieve the steep gradients by winding tracks of gradual descent.' Cf. Verg. Georg. III. 293, *clivus mollis*. Cæs. B. G. VII. 46, *quidquid circuitus ad molliendum clivum accesserat*, also *locis mollioribus* below.

anfractus, from *ambi* and *frag* (*frango*). To the objection to this derivation made by Zeyss, that *anfractus* means a 'bend' rather than a 'break,' Corssen, I. 397, quotes Cic. Nat. D. II. 18, of the sphere, *ea figura...quæ...habere...potest nihil incisum angulis, nihil anfractibus, nihil eminens, nihil lacunosum*.

§ 4. **prope fame abs.** They might have been quite starved according to Livy's account. Polyb. makes the horses get over after one day's delay, the other three being spent in making a broader path for the elephants.

si quid est... 'All the herbage, *such as it is* ..' Cf. Cic. in Cæc. 15, *ipse Allienus ex ea facultate, si quam habet, aliquantum detracturus est*. Cf. Lucr. II. 16, *hoc ævi quodcumque*.

obruunt nives. This might easily be the case so late in the season.

§ 5. **apricosque etiam.** The MSS. have *apricos quosdam*, but the asyndeton is harsh. W. reads *apricosque quosdam*, which is ugly and unusual.

et prope silvas = and almost forests. Madv. inserts the *et* as *rivos p. s.* seems to him unnatural.

§ 6. **locis mollior.** This is an abl. absol., and the compar. stands for a partic.

c. xxxviii. § 1. **quinto mense a.** Cf. xxii. 19. 5, *altero ab Tarracone die*, an elliptical expression; the 5th month only is qualified by the '*ut quidam*,' the 15th day is accepted by Livy, as by Polyb. But it is not easy to make their detailed statements agree with this number, as both reckon 9 days to the ascent, 2 at the top, 4 by the landslip, and 3 in the descent. Probably however Polybius meant the last 3 to be counted as part of the 4 just mentioned, in which the cavalry reached the lower valleys while the road was being widened for the elephants, and then we should get only 15 for the whole. There is no hint of this however in Livy, who is hopelessly inconsistent.

§ 2. **qui minimum**, e.g. Polybius iii. 56, on the authority of the tablet at Lacinium. We may note that with the exception of a few Ligurians there were no mercenaries in this army, only Spaniards and Libyans, not like the motley aggregates of earlier days.

§ 3. **Cincius**, v. Introduction on the authorities.

maxime... 'Would be a most weighty authority.'

§ 4. **adducta.** 'Brought with him through the Alps,' most unlikely when there was a promise of more faithful allies on the other side, who had more to gain from the Punic cause.

magis, take with *veri simile; adducta* and *audisse* after *scribit.*

auctores sunt, so xxiii. 16. 15, *quod quidam auctores sunt*, ii. 58. 1, *Piso auctor est*, xxx. 3. 6, *ita pars major auctores sunt.*

§ 5. **Taurini Semigalli.** This is a very bold correction by Madvig of the corrupt readings of the MSS.: *Taurinisnegalli*, *Taurinis quæ Galliæ*, *Taurinisne Gallis*, *&c.*, on the ground that Strabo connects the Taurini with the Ligures, and yet distinguishes them as if they were half Celts. The conjecture of W. *Taurini Galliæ* seems preferable.

degresso (Hannibali), cf. i. 8. 4, *locus qui nunc sæptus descendentibus inter duos lucos est.*

§ 6. **Id quum, &c.** This is difficult, for Polyb. asserts that H. descended among the Insubres, as indeed it was likely that he would do, since they and their allies had invited him to cross into Italy. It may be that Livy only meant that the annalists all spoke of his attack on the Taurini as his first movement in Italy, and as the Taurini were, strictly speaking, a Ligurian not a Gallic tribe (Strabo iv. 6), possibly the passage, whose reading is so doubtful, brought out the close neighbourhood of the hostile T. to the friendly Insubres.

ambigi, quanam. No official account was likely to reach Rome from the time when H. disappeared from Scipio's sight, till he was heard of near the Po. The Alps were till long after a *terra incognita*, and few like Polybius cared to travel so far to gather up the local traditions.

P. 41. **credere**, the transition from the passive *ambigi* to an active is marked, but not unusual in Livy. In *orat. directa* he would naturally say *vulgo credunt* (sc. *homines*).

Pœnino. This was the pass of the Great St Bernard. Its name is thought to be derived from the Celtic deity Penn (Zeuss, die Deutschen, p. 5). *Jupiter Pœninus* was worshipped on the summit, and the name has been found on 30 *ex voto* tablets which have been discovered near the top. It was also called *Mons Jovis*, which survives in the names Mont-Joux, Plan-de-Joux which are still localized on the height. It was by this pass that Livy, v. 35, brought the Boii and Lingones into Italy in the 5th century B.C. The fanciful derivation of the name referred to in the text was an argument likely to be urged in early times.

Cremonis iug. It is tempting to identify this with the Cramont, between la Thuile and Entrèves, beside the little St Bernard, but the attempt rests on grounds of etymology as insecure as the case just specified. It is probable that only one route was then known across the Alpes Graiæ, that of which Strabo speaks, iv. 67, 'the road from the Salassi parts into two branches, the one rough and inaccessible for beasts of burden over the Pœninus, the other more westerly through the Centrones.'

§ 7. **per alios.** Madvig's conjecture for *per saltus mont.* which is obviously corrupt. Lipsius and others whom W. follows read *per Salassos*, which is inviting, but the addition of *montanos* would be needless, as Madvig points out. The

Salassi of the common reading were the tribe on the Doria Baltea, better known in the days of Augustus for their resolute though hopeless stand for independence against Terentius Varro, who sold 42,000 of them into slavery, Strabo IV. 6. 7.

Libuos, otherwise called Lai, Lebecii, Libici, Lævi; probably petty tribes between the Orgus and Ticinus under the supremacy of the Insubres. Their chief city was Vercellæ, (*Libicorum ex Salluviis ortæ*, Pliny III. 16).

§ 8. **Semigermanis**. This objection might apply to the great St Bernard, but could have little force after the description of the resistance which H. met with on his way from the mountaineers, whoever they were. The form *Semigermanis* probably suggested Madvig's reading *Semigalli* above.

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§ 2. **deiecta in id,** 'thrown for that purpose,' i. e. into the helmet or urn, so *conjicere sortem in urnam, sitellam,* or *cistulam.*

§ 3. **et, ut cuiusque.** The MSS. have no *ut*, but it seems to be required, and may have been omitted after the *et*, from the similarity of the words. W. notes that only one pair of combatants is mentioned by Polyb., and thinks that therefore the *et cujus* of some MSS. is better, but the *vincentium* of the last line points to several pairs fighting together.

exciderat. So ὁ κλῆρος ἐκπίπτει. Cf. XXIII. 3. 7, *nominibus in urnam conjectis citari, quod primum sorte nomen excidit, jussit.*

sui moris. Cf. X. 26. 8, *ovantes moris sui carmine.*

tripudiis. This word is explained by the Latin writers as strictly applied to the action of the sacred chickens, *cernitur in auspiciis tripudiantium pullorum dictum a terra pavienda.* Festus. So too Cicero, div. II. 34. The root *pu* is traced by Corssen, I. 359, in *repudium,* and possibly *pudet,* as well as in *pavire* (strike), *pavimentum, παίειν. tri* is not for *terra,* which is unchanged in composition, but as in *trifolium, triclinium, trianum,* from the threefold beat. The word is also used of the ceremonial dances of the Romans, as of the Salii, *cum tripudiis solemnique cantu,* I. 20. 3, and of the *Fratres Arvales* in the inscriptions.

§ 4. **is habitus animorum.** Cf. 2. 6, *eo fuit habitu oris.*

eiusdem cond., i. e. prisoners.

spectantes, i. e. the army.

P. 46, C. XLIII. § 2. **vicimus.** The past put for the future to express the certainty of the result, and give life to the sentence.

§ 4. **habentes.** The MSS. have *habentibus,* and W. retains it, but it seems equally awkward to regard it with Fabri as an abl. abs., or as dative agreeing with *vobis* while understanding '*fugam*' with *claudunt* as W. suggests.

§ 6. **possident.** 'The *port*' which corresponds to *προτί, πρός* appears in various forms in *possideo, pollingo, porricio, pono* (*po. sino*). Corssen, Beiträge 87.

§ 7. **agite dum**, plural form of interjectional *agedum*; for *dum* the MSS. read 'cum.'

§ 10. **emeritis stip.** Lit. 'when you have earned your pay.' So applied to the veteran whose term of service has expired and who looks for pension or land as in later days at Rome. So III. 57. 10, *non juniores modo, sed emeritis etiam stipendiis, pars magna voluntariorum.*

P. 47, § 11. **momento.** Here in original sense 'impulse' (*movere*). Cf. XXIV. 34. 2, *quicquid hostes ingenti mole agerent, ipse perlevi momento ludificaretur.*

§ 12. **Nam** refers to *nec tam difficilem* of § 11.

§ 13. **Ut viginti.** 'To say nothing of the 20 years of service when you fought with your well-known valour and success,' i. e. during the conquest of Spain, rhetorically for 18 years.

illa...illa. Cf. IX. 17. 4, *cessisset Papirius Cursor illo corpore robore illo animi.*

Herculis columnis, i. e. Calpe and Abyla at Gibraltar.

§ 14. **caeso, &c.** Cf. c. 25. Livy often uses the asyndeton in rhetorical passages, cf. 44. 4, *dolor injuria indignitas.*

§ 15. **semestri.** Scipio had taken office in March. H. touches here on the weak point of the military system of Rome, the constant change of generals, yet Livy's age had seen the danger to civil liberties of a long tenure of command.

§ 17. **notata, &c.** 'Recall to mind your several distinctions with the appropriate date and scene of each.'

§ 18. **laudatis donatisque.** A phrase frequently repeated by L. Cf. XXV. 18. 15.

c. XLIV. § 1. **infrenatos**, i. e. the Numidians, who are often specified as using no bridle. Cf. 46. 2.

§ 2. **socios.** Used of all the various nationalities to the exclusion of the citizens of Carthage.

P. 48, § 5. **se modum, &c.** 'Thinks it her right to dictate to us the nations with whom we may be at peace or war.'

neque, for 'but not.' Cf. IV. 30. 14, *missi tamen feciales, nec eorum...verba sunt audita.*

§ 6. The MSS. read *ad* contrary to the fact, Madvig inserts the *non*, but W. prefers *cis* 'on our side of,' which

obruunt nives. This might easily be the case so late in the season.

§ 5. **apricosque etiam.** The MSS. have *apricos quosdam*, but the asyndeton is harsh. W. reads *apricosque quosdam*, which is ugly and unusual.

et prope silvas = and almost forests. Madv. inserts the *et* as *rivos p. s.* seems to him unnatural.

§ 6. **locis mollior.** This is an abl. absol., and the compar. stands for a partic.

C. XXXVIII. § 1. **quinto mense a.** Cf. XXII. 19. 5, *altero ab Tarracone die*, an elliptical expression; the 5th month only is qualified by the '*ut quidam*,' the 15th day is accepted by Livy, as by Polyb. But it is not easy to make their detailed statements agree with this number, as both reckon 9 days to the ascent, 2 at the top, 4 by the landslip, and 3 in the descent. Probably however Polybius meant the last 3 to be counted as part of the 4 just mentioned, in which the cavalry reached the lower valleys while the road was being widened for the elephants, and then we should get only 15 for the whole. There is no hint of this however in Livy, who is hopelessly inconsistent.

§ 2. **qui minimum**, e.g. Polybius III. 56, on the authority of the tablet at Lacinium. We may note that with the exception of a few Ligurians there were no mercenaries in this army, only Spaniards and Libyans, not like the motley aggregates of earlier days.

§ 3. **Cincius**, v. Introduction on the authorities.

maxime... 'Would be a most weighty authority.'

§ 4. **adducta.** 'Brought with him through the Alps,' most unlikely when there was a promise of more faithful allies on the other side, who had more to gain from the Punic cause.

magis, take with *veri simile; adducta* and *audisse* after *scribit.*

auctores sunt, so XXIII. 16. 15, *quod quidam auctores sunt*, II. 58. 1, *Piso auctor est*, XXX. 3. 6, *ita pars major auctores sunt.*

§ 5. **Taurini Semigalli.** This is a very bold correction by Madvig of the corrupt readings of the MSS.: *Taurinisnegalli*, *Taurinis quæ Galliæ*, *Taurinisne Gallis*, *&c.*, on the ground that Strabo connects the Taurini with the Ligures, and yet distinguishes them as if they were half Celts. The conjecture of W. *Taurini Galliæ* seems preferable.

degresso (Hannibali), cf. i. 8. 4, *locus qui nunc saeptus descendentibus inter duos lucos est.*

§ 6. **Id quum, &c.** This is difficult, for Polyb. asserts that H. descended among the Insubres, as indeed it was likely that he would do, since they and their allies had invited him to cross into Italy. It may be that Livy only meant that the annalists all spoke of his attack on the Taurini as his first movement in Italy, and as the Taurini were, strictly speaking, a Ligurian not a Gallic tribe (Strabo iv. 6), possibly the passage, whose reading is so doubtful, brought out the close neighbourhood of the hostile T. to the friendly Insubres.

ambigi, quanam. No official account was likely to reach Rome from the time when H. disappeared from Scipio's sight, till he was heard of near the Po. The Alps were till long after a *terra incognita*, and few like Polybius cared to travel so far to gather up the local traditions.

P. 41. **credere**, the transition from the passive *ambigi* to an active is marked, but not unusual in Livy. In *orat. directa* he would naturally say *vulgo credunt* (sc. *homines*).

Poenino. This was the pass of the Great St Bernard. Its name is thought to be derived from the Celtic deity Penn (Zeuss, die Deutschen, p. 5). *Jupiter Pœninus* was worshipped on the summit, and the name has been found on 30 *ex voto* tablets which have been discovered near the top. It was also called *Mons Jovis*, which survives in the names Mont-Joux, Plan-de-Joux which are still localized on the height. It was by this pass that Livy, v. 35, brought the Boii and Lingones into Italy in the 5th century B.C. The fanciful derivation of the name referred to in the text was an argument likely to be urged in early times.

Cremonis iug. It is tempting to identify this with the Cramont, between la Thuile and Entrèves, beside the little St Bernard, but the attempt rests on grounds of etymology as insecure as the case just specified. It is probable that only one route was then known across the Alpes Graiæ, that of which Strabo speaks, iv. 67, 'the road from the Salassi parts into two branches, the one rough and inaccessible for beasts of burden over the Pœninus, the other more westerly through the Centrones.'

§ 7. **per alios.** Madvig's conjecture for *per saltus mont.* which is obviously corrupt. Lipsius and others whom W. follows read *per Salassos*, which is inviting, but the addition of *montanos* would be needless, as Madvig points out. The

Salassi of the common reading were the tribe on the Doria Baltea, better known in the days of Augustus for their resolute though hopeless stand for independence against Terentius Varro, who sold 42,000 of them into slavery, Strabo iv. 6. 7.

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exciderat. So ὁ κλῆρος ἐκπίπτει. Cf. xxiii. 3. 7, *nominibus in urnam conjectis citari, quod primum sorte nomen excidit, jussit.*

sui moris. Cf. x. 26. 8, *ovantes moris sui carmine.*

tripudiis. This word is explained by the Latin writers as strictly applied to the action of the sacred chickens, *cernitur in auspiciis tripudiantium pullorum dictum a terra pavienda.* Festus. So too Cicero, div. ii. 34. The root *pu* is traced by Corssen, i. 359, in *repudium,* and possibly *pudet,* as well as in *pavire* (strike), *pavimentum,* παίειν. *tri* is not for *terra,* which is unchanged in composition, but as in *trifolium, triclinium, trianum,* from the threefold beat. The word is also used of the ceremonial dances of the Romans, as of the Salii, *cum tripudiis solemnique cantu,* i. 20. 3, and of the *Fratres Arvales* in the inscriptions.

§ 4. **is habitus animorum.** Cf. 2. 6, *eo fuit habitu oris.*

eiusdem cond., i. e. prisoners.

spectantes, i. e. the army.

P. 46, c. xliii. § 2. **vicimus.** The past put for the future to express the certainty of the result, and give life to the sentence.

§ 4. **habentes.** The MSS. have *habentibus,* and W. retains it, but it seems equally awkward to regard it with Fabri as an abl. abs., or as dative agreeing with *vobis* while understanding '*fugam*' with *claudunt* as W. suggests.

§ 6. **possident.** 'The *port*' which corresponds to προτί, πρός appears in various forms in *possideo, pollingo, porricio, pono* (*po. sino*). Corssen, Beiträge 87.

§ 7. **agite dum**, plural form of interjectional *agedum*; for *dum* the MSS. read 'cum.'

§ 10. **emeritis stip.** Lit. 'when you have earned your pay.' So applied to the veteran whose term of service has expired and who looks for pension or land as in later days at Rome. So III. 57. 10, *non juniores modo, sed emeritis etiam stipendiis, pars magna voluntariorum.*

P. 47, § 11. **momento.** Here in original sense 'impulse' (*movere*). Cf. XXIV. 34. 2, *quicquid hostes ingenti mole agerent, ipse perlevi momento ludificaretur.*

§ 12. **Nam** refers to *nec tam difficilem* of § 11.

§ 13. **Ut viginti.** 'To say nothing of the 20 years of service when you fought with your well-known valour and success,' i. e. during the conquest of Spain, rhetorically for 18 years.

illa...illa. Cf. IX. 17. 4, *cessisset Papirius Cursor illo corpore robore illo animi.*

Herculis columnis, i. e. Calpe and Abyla at Gibraltar.

§ 14. **caeso, &c.** Cf. c. 25. Livy often uses the asyndeton in rhetorical passages, cf. 44. 4, *dolor injuria indignitas.*

§ 15. **semestri.** Scipio had taken office in March. H. touches here on the weak point of the military system of Rome, the constant change of generals, yet Livy's age had seen the danger to civil liberties of a long tenure of command.

§ 17. **notata, &c.** 'Recall to mind your several distinctions with the appropriate date and scene of each.'

§ 18. **laudatis donatisque.** A phrase frequently repeated by L. Cf. XXV. 18. 15.

c. XLIV. § 1. **infrenatos**, i. e. the Numidians, who are often specified as using no bridle. Cf. 46. 2.

§ 2. **socios.** Used of all the various nationalities to the exclusion of the citizens of Carthage.

P. 48, § 5. **se modum, &c.** 'Thinks it her right to dictate to us the nations with whom we may be at peace or war.'

neque, for 'but not.' Cf. IV. 30. 14, *missi tamen feciales, nec eorum...verba sunt audita.*

§ 6. The MSS. read *ad* contrary to the fact, Madvig inserts the *non*, but W. prefers *cis* 'on our side of,' which

seems a better retort, though less near the MSS. Krauss suggests *at liberum est Saguntum*, referring to the treaty with Hasdrubal, 2. 7, which provided *Sag. mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur.* This was followed, however, by a compact between Rome and Saguntum, Pol. III. 30, which Carthage ignored when Hannibal accused Rome of meddling with the autonomy of S., and when just above he says *neque eos quos statuit terminos observat.* (Rhein. Mus. 1875.)

§ 7. **meas.** As if Carthage were speaking by *prosopopœia.*

Etiam (in) Hisp. There is much doubt as to the reading of the whole sentence. Madv. inserts the *in*, and separates the clause from the foregoing, because he thinks that Spain which the Romans had not yet attacked should be coupled with Africa. W. inserts *adimis* again before *etiam* and does not accept *in.*

The common reading, *transcendes autem dico*, is rejected by M., on the ground that either *autem* or *dico* would be superfluous, and he therefore inserts *transcendisse*, which W. objects to with some reason as weak, when followed by *duos consules*, &c.

unum in Afr. H. naturally omits to note that this was a measure of defence though offensive in form.

vindicarimus, is Madvig's correction for the *vindicaremus* of the MSS., which Heerwagen supports by like passages as XXIII. 5. 6, *nihil ne quod suppleremus quidem nobis reliquit fortuna.*

§ 8. **qui respectum habent,** 'who have something to fall back on.'

respectus, used elsewhere by Livy in this sense of 'chance of safety or retreat.' Cf. III. 23. 5, *nos omnium rerum respectum, præterquam victoriæ, nobis abscindamus.* So Cic. Phil. V. 18, *quum respectum ad senatum et bonos non haberet.*

omnibus inter, &c. 'Assured that you must tear out of your hearts all hopes of any alternative save victory or death.'

dubitabit, is euphemistic for *adversa erit.*

§ 9. **destinatum.** W. inserts *si* before this. Madv. would expunge it as a needless repetition, and because *dest. in an.* is less natural than *fixum in an.*; yet we find the phrase, VI. 6. 6, *sibi destinatum in animo esse*, and possibly *destinatum consilio*, 54. 6.

P. 49, c. XLV. § 1. **ponte Ticinum.** They had already crossed the Po from Placentia, 39. 10, and were marching along the left bank. The *pons* over the Ticinus, probably near Pavia, was a fixed one, with a *castellum* or *tête du pont*, distinguished from the bridge of boats (*rates*) over the Po.

§ 3. **sollicitari.** Used absolutely 25. 2, without *in defect.*

Ictumulis. The text points to a place near the mouth of the Ticinus, about the modern Carbonara, which agrees also with the situation of the place of like name referred to 57. 9. But Pliny, 32. 21, and Strabo, v. 1. 12, speak of the gold mines of Victumulæ or Ictumuli in the district of Vercellæ, and there are still traces of them near Biella to the north of Vercellæ, while there were none near the mouth of the Ticinus. In later times the Romans found a pretext for a war with the Salassi, and despoiled them of the mines in question, and it is probable that the contractors who farmed them afterwards and employed some 5000 workmen in them brought the produce to Ictumuli, which served as the chief emporium for the whole neighbourhood until the colony of Eporedia was planted in the centre of the mining district. C. I. L. v. 2, p. 715.

§ 4. **pronuntiat,** 'offers,' like *proponit* below; so *declarare munera, indicere præmia.*

in quorum spem. The use of the prepos. is singular, as *spes* is not the object, but the cause of the action, which is however confounded with it. Heerwagen compares v. 30. 4, *vellent in eam spem liberos tollere.*

§ 5. **immunem,** i.e. free of all payments to the state.

§ 6. **potestatem fact.** H. here claims a power which Roman generals at times exercised, of bestowing the *civitas* or franchise.

§ 7. **mancipium,** the 'taking by the hand,' was a symbol of purchase, and thus the term was used alike for the right of ownership (e.g. *vitaque mancipio nulli datur*), as also for the slave as the property of his master.

§ 8. **silicem retinens.** The knife of flint was used for sacrificial purposes till late in the days of the Empire, as we see from the *Acta fratrum Arvalium.* It was probably a custom of immemorial antiquity, retained from the ages which had little use of metals, by a religious conservatism which feared to change its forms, cf. the proverb *inter sacrum saxumque*, Plaut. Capt. III. 4, like our 'between hammer and anvil.'

falleret, 'forswear himself.' Cf. Hor. Carm. II. 8. 10, *expedit matris cineres opertos | fallere.*

Iovem, named by Livy with characteristic carelessness for the Baal of Carthage.

mactassent. Connected by Curtius, 293, with macellum, μάχαιρα, μάχη. Cf. Lucr. v. 1339, boves Lucae ferro male mactae, and the fragment of Naevius restored by Müller, Festus p. 307, salsum peius macit hominem quamde mare saevom.

The MSS. have et before secundum prec. Madvig rejects this on the ground that the omission of est after precandum would be indefensible, as in the reading præcipitatum, 25. 8.

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suppose a break in the construction, or *cujus* supplied from *quod*, i.e. 'as to which the report holds its ground.' Cf. I. 4. 5, *tenet fama lupam cursum flexisse.*

c. XLVII. § 2. **vasa silentio coll.** So XXVII. 47. 8, *extinctis ignibus vigilia prima dato signo ut taciti vasa colligerent.* The signal was not in such cases given, as usually, by the sound of a trumpet.

castra ab T. Livy does not explicitly notice the crossing the Ticinus, but that is implied in the withdrawal to the *rates* over the Po, and in the advantage of falling back upon Placentia.

§ 3. **Prius...quam...sciret H.** Polyb. explains the delay of H. as due to a belief that the Roman infantry would attack him.

sexcentos mor. Polyb. makes H. march up to the bridge on the Ticinus (ἕως τοῦ πρώτου ποταμοῦ) and capture the 600 who were left behind to break the bridge by taking up the planks (σανίδες) which stretched from pier to pier. H. then retires εἰς τἀναντία παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν, that is higher up the Po to find a suitable spot for crossing. Livy clearly implies that H. crossed the Ticinus, and found the 600 engaged in loosing the bridge of boats over the Po, which floated down the stream (*in secundam aquam*) when its end was untied.

in citeriore ripa. 'The left bank,' Hannibal's position being the main idea.

§ 5. **Ea peritis.** The scruples of Livy seem well founded, and all probability is against such a mode of crossing. Polybius does not notice it.

fidem fecerint. 'Inspire confidence.' Cf. I. 16. 8, *facta fide immortalitatis.* Cæsar Bell. Gall. VI. 41. 2, *ut...Volusenus...fidem non faceret adesse Cæsarem.*

ut iam. 'Even allowing that.' Cf. Hor. Epod. I. 21, *non ut adsit auxili | latura plus præsentibus.*

P. 52, § 8. **sex millia a Placentia.** Nothing is here said of either army crossing the Trebia on its way to Placentia, and the language of both Livy and Polybius is general enough for any position in the neighbourhood. Niebuhr and others have assumed that Scipio retreated to the east of Trebia, and that Hannibal following him thither cut him off from his communications with Rome. This view seems quite untenable for the following reasons:

(1) We hear afterwards of Scipio crossing the Trebia and taking up his position on hilly ground near it. If this new

position had been on the left bank, he would have been isolated from his allies the Cenomani to the North, from the Road to Rome on the East, and from Placentia, which was his natural base, and a fortified town with a garrison of 6000 colonists.

(2) The union between Sempronius and himself would have been endangered, yet we hear of no conflict as if H. stood between the two armies.

(3) The Trebia was between H. and Scipio, and the attempt made to gain possession of Clastidium which lay on the West naturally though not necessarily points to H. being also to the West.

It would seem therefore on the whole most probable that Scipio's camp was at first to the West of the Trebia, and that he crossed at last to get nearer his base and put the river between himself and H. It is doubtful however whether Livy intended this, and had he been careful of geography he might have expressed himself more clearly.

The language of Polybius is also vague, *περὶ πόλιν Πλακεντίαν*, but may point to the conclusion adopted, which is opposed however to the view of Niebuhr, Arnold, Liddell and Weissenborn, but has been adopted by Mommsen.

c. xlviii. § 3. **signum defectionis.** Scipio therefore fell back nearer to the road to Rome and to Ariminum, without quite giving up his communications with Placentia. But he removed as far as possible from the country of the Gauls.

contactos. 'Tainted, implicated.' This word is often used by Livy in derivative senses as *contactos rabie*, *societate belli*, *violatione templi*, *regia præda*, *funebribus diris* and then extended to things, as unlucky days, and *auspicia*.

adhuc. Here and often by Livy used for *etiam tum*, strictly it should mean 'up to now.' Cicero seldom uses it except of the present.

§ 6. **citra,** as 47. 3, 'on their side' of the agent, not the writer.

P. 53, § 7. **iactati,** 'irritated,' so we read of *jactationem cicatricis*, xxix. 32. 12, and *vulneris*, xxx. 19. 5. Some MSS. have *jactanti* agreeing with *via*, with which less probable reading cf. *jactatio maritima*, 26. 5.

ratus exspectandum. It would have been a strange way of waiting for reinforcements to allow the enemy to occupy the road by which they must come. See above, on 47. 8.

§ 8. **anxius inopia.** This is not very likely as many of the Gauls behind were friends and the country was very rich.

Polyb. II. 15 in another part of his history dwells in emphatic terms on the fertility of Cisalpine Gaul, which evidently surprised him by its contrast to the poor and exhausted soil of Greece. The innkeeper, he says, does not care to enter the details of his guest's food, but boards him for the whole day for half an as.

excipiebat. For this secondary sense cf. v. 42. 3, *nec tranquillior nox diem tam fœde actum excepit.*

Clastidium was the scene of the victory of M. Claudius Marcellus over the Gallic chief Virdumarus in the late war (Pol. II. 34), and a play of Nævius was called after its name. It was a principal station on the road between Genua and Cremona, though afterwards only a vicus dependent on Placentia. On its site at Casteggio, an inscription has been found in which a guild of cobblers of Placentia who were living at Clastidium were made trustees of a sum to be spent in honour of the dead *rosa et amarantho et epulis perpetue colendam.*

numerus, often used for quantity. Cf. Cic. Phil. II. 27. 66, *maximus vini numerus.*

§ 9. **nummis aureis.** There was as yet no gold coinage in Italy, Spain, or Africa. Mommsen, R. Münzwesen, 671. For Spain and Italy there is only negative evidence, for Rome Pliny 33. 8. 47 tells us that gold was coined 51 years (or 62 in most MSS.) after silver, and that was begun B.C. 267, Liv. Epit. 15. Livy therefore as usual adopts the terms of a later age.

præfecto. This term is always used to refer to the delegate of a higher official, whether civil or military: not to the elect of an assembly. It was one of frequent use under the empire, and passed into modern language as *préfet.*

Id horreum. Convenient enough if H. was on the W. of the Trebia: less so if all the supplies had to cross the river.

§ 10. **sævitum.** A bold example of the pass. form of neut. verbs, which Livy often uses.

c. XLIX. § 1. **constitisset.** 'Was at a standstill.'

imminentes. 'Close to.' Cf. XLI. 1. 2, *imminet mari is lacus.*

et ante adventum. 'As well as before.' These words are inserted as an afterthought, without reference to the *interim*, which they are not consistent with.

§ 2. **novem L.** '9 reached L.' It seems better to understand some verb such as *attigerunt*, rather than assume a different construction in two clauses with *tenuerunt* (*cursum*) with and without *ad*, though both constructions are freely used by Livy, as i. 1. 3, xxii. 22. 2. Strabo, iv. 2. 10, speaks of the seven Liparæan islands, of which the greatest was Lipara. The plural may be used for the town as W. suggests, or be used for the islands generally. Cf. v. 28. 2.

insulam Vulc. Its name was Thermessa, ἣν νῦν ἱερὰν Ἡφαίστου καλοῦσι. Strabo gives a long account of volcanic action visible on the island, which lay between Sicily and the Liparæ group.

§ 3. **Hierone.** Like Hanno at Carthage, Hiero of Syracuse lived to remember the 1st Punic war, in which he had borne an important part. At first an ally of Carthage he transferred himself soon to the winning side, to which he was uniformly faithful.

nullo repugnante. 'Without resistance.'

§ 4. **veteres socios.** A great part of Sicily once belonged to Carthage, but they were gradually driven to the Western Coast, and held only Motye Solois and Panormus. In the rivalries of the Greek republics they found frequent occasions of interference, as the weaker party in the struggle turned to them for help. The 1st war however put an end to that, and secured the island to Rome.

P. 54, § 6. **Sicilia prov.** It was strictly speaking assigned to Sempronius, but as he was possibly to cross into Africa, the Prætor Æmilius was also appointed to it.

§ 7. **legati.** Besides the envoys so called, who were sent on extraordinary missions, there were regular officers, attached to the consular army, or the legion, as lieutenant-generals.

tribuni. Attached to each legion, six in number.

§ 8. The whole passage is very corrupt in the MSS., but the corrections of Madvig have been generally received. His earlier suggestion of *strepere* for *teneri* has not been admitted into the text. The change of form from *missi* (*sunt*) to *teneri* is in itself awkward, the MSS. read *et ubi*... *ne quis moram*, to which Madvig objects that the terms of the edict would be general, and not addressed to the sailors individually, and he therefore corrects it to *ne quid*, which would explain the object of the foregoing direction. The *et* he changes to *ut*, but this seems questionable. *Ut ne* is a pleonasm used by Cicero, but rarely by later writers, and Drakenborch doubts whether Livy wrote it in the three passages in which the MSS.

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et fama. We may take *fama* in the abl. as a modal, which is however hazardous, or if we understand *fama* as the nom., as is much more in accordance with Livy's usage, we may

suppose a break in the construction, or *cujus* supplied from *quod*, i.e. 'as to which the report holds its ground.' Cf. I. 4. 5, *tenet fama lupam cursum flexisse.*

c. XLVII. § 2. **vasa silentio coll.** So XXVII. 47. 8, *extinctis ignibus vigilia prima dato signo ut taciti vasa colligerent.* The signal was not in such cases given, as usually, by the sound of a trumpet.

castra ab T. Livy does not explicitly notice the crossing the Ticinus, but that is implied in the withdrawal to the *rates* over the Po, and in the advantage of falling back upon Placentia.

§ 3. **Prius...quam...sciret H.** Polyb. explains the delay of H. as due to a belief that the Roman infantry would attack him.

sexcentos mor. Polyb. makes H. march up to the bridge on the Ticinus (ἕως τοῦ πρώτου ποταμοῦ) and capture the 600 who were left behind to break the bridge by taking up the planks (σανίδες) which stretched from pier to pier. H. then retires εἰς τἀναντία παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν, that is higher up the Po to find a suitable spot for crossing. Livy clearly implies that H. crossed the Ticinus, and found the 600 engaged in loosing the bridge of boats over the Po, which floated down the stream (*in secundam aquam*) when its end was untied.

in citeriore ripa. 'The left bank,' Hannibal's position being the main idea.

§ 5. **Ea peritis.** The scruples of Livy seem well founded, and all probability is against such a mode of crossing. Polybius does not notice it.

fidem fecerint. 'Inspire confidence.' Cf. I. 16. 8, *facta fide immortalitatis.* Cæsar Bell. Gall. VI. 41. 2, *ut...Volusenus...fidem non faceret adesse Cæsarem.*

ut iam. 'Even allowing that.' Cf. Hor. Epod. I. 21, *non ut adsit auxili | latura plus præsentibus.*

P. 52, § 8. **sex millia a Placentia.** Nothing is here said of either army crossing the Trebia on its way to Placentia, and the language of both Livy and Polybius is general enough for any position in the neighbourhood. Niebuhr and others have assumed that Scipio retreated to the east of Trebia, and that Hannibal following him thither cut him off from his communications with Rome. This view seems quite untenable for the following reasons:

(1) We hear afterwards of Scipio crossing the Trebia and taking up his position on hilly ground near it. If this new

position had been on the left bank, he would have been isolated from his allies the Cenomani to the North, from the Road to Rome on the East, and from Placentia, which was his natural base, and a fortified town with a garrison of 6000 colonists.

(2) The union between Sempronius and himself would have been endangered, yet we hear of no conflict as if H. stood between the two armies.

(3) The Trebia was between H. and Scipio, and the attempt made to gain possession of Clastidium which lay on the West naturally though not necessarily points to H. being also to the West.

It would seem therefore on the whole most probable that Scipio's camp was at first to the West of the Trebia, and that he crossed at last to get nearer his base and put the river between himself and H. It is doubtful however whether Livy intended this, and had he been careful of geography he might have expressed himself more clearly.

The language of Polybius is also vague, *περὶ πόλιν Πλακεντίαν*, but may point to the conclusion adopted, which is opposed however to the view of Niebuhr, Arnold, Liddell and Weissenborn, but has been adopted by Mommsen.

c. XLVIII. § 3. **signum defectionis.** Scipio therefore fell back nearer to the road to Rome and to Ariminum, without quite giving up his communications with Placentia. But he removed as far as possible from the country of the Gauls.

contactos. 'Tainted, implicated.' This word is often used by Livy in derivative senses as *contactos rabie*, *societate belli*, *violatione templi*, *regia præda*, *funebribus diris* and then extended to things, as unlucky days, and *auspicia*.

adhuc. Here and often by Livy used for *etiam tum*, strictly it should mean 'up to now.' Cicero seldom uses it except of the present.

§ 6. **citra,** as 47. 3, 'on their side' of the agent, not the writer.

P. 53, § 7. **iactati,** 'irritated,' so we read of *jactationem cicatricis*, XXIX. 32. 12, and *vulneris*, XXX. 19. 5. Some MSS. have *jactanti* agreeing with *via*, with which less probable reading cf. *jactatio maritima*, 26. 5.

ratus exspectandum. It would have been a strange way of waiting for reinforcements to allow the enemy to occupy the road by which they must come. See above, on 47. 8.

§ 8. **anxius inopia.** This is not very likely as many of the Gauls behind were friends and the country was very rich.

Polyb. II. 15 in another part of his history dwells in emphatic terms on the fertility of Cisalpine Gaul, which evidently surprised him by its contrast to the poor and exhausted soil of Greece. The innkeeper, he says, does not care to enter the details of his guest's food, but boards him for the whole day for half an as.

excipiebat. For this secondary sense cf. v. 42. 3, *nec tranquillior nox diem tam fœde actum excepit.*

Clastidium was the scene of the victory of M. Claudius Marcellus over the Gallic chief Virdumarus in the late war (Pol. II. 34), and a play of Nævius was called after its name. It was a principal station on the road between Genua and Cremona, though afterwards only a vicus dependent on Placentia. On its site at Casteggio, an inscription has been found in which a guild of cobblers of Placentia who were living at Clastidium were made trustees of a sum to be spent in honour of the dead *rosa et amarantho et epulis perpetue colendam.*

numerus, often used for quantity. Cf. Cic. Phil. II. 27. 66, *maximus vini numerus.*

§ 9. **nummis aureis.** There was as yet no gold coinage in Italy, Spain, or Africa. Mommsen, R. Münzwesen, 671. For Spain and Italy there is only negative evidence, for Rome Pliny 33. 8. 47 tells us that gold was coined 51 years (or 62 in most MSS.) after silver, and that was begun B.C. 267, Liv. Epit. 15. Livy therefore as usual adopts the terms of a later age.

præfecto. This term is always used to refer to the delegate of a higher official, whether civil or military: not to the elect of an assembly. It was one of frequent use under the empire, and passed into modern language as *préfet.*

Id horreum. Convenient enough if H. was on the W. of the Trebia: less so if all the supplies had to cross the river.

§ 10. **sævitum.** A bold example of the pass. form of neut. verbs, which Livy often uses.

c. XLIX. § 1. **constitisset.** 'Was at a standstill.'

imminentes. 'Close to.' Cf. XLI. 1. 2, *imminet mari is lacus.*

et ante adventum. 'As well as before.' These words are inserted as an afterthought, without reference to the *interim,* which they are not consistent with.

§ 2. **novem L.** '9 reached L.' It seems better to understand some verb such as *attigerunt*, rather than assume a different construction in two clauses with *tenuerunt* (*cursum*) with and without *ad*, though both constructions are freely used by Livy, as i. 1. 3, xxii. 22. 2. Strabo, iv. 2. 10, speaks of the seven Liparæan islands, of which the greatest was Lipara. The plural may be used for the town as W. suggests, or be used for the islands generally. Cf. v. 28. 2.

insulam Vulc. Its name was Thermessa, ἣν νῦν ἱερὰν Ἡφαίστου καλοῦσι. Strabo gives a long account of volcanic action visible on the island, which lay between Sicily and the Liparæ group.

§ 3. **Hierone.** Like Hanno at Carthage, Hiero of Syracuse lived to remember the 1st Punic war, in which he had borne an important part. At first an ally of Carthage he transferred himself soon to the winning side, to which he was uniformly faithful.

nullo repugnante. 'Without resistance.'

§ 4. **veteres socios.** A great part of Sicily once belonged to Carthage, but they were gradually driven to the Western Coast, and held only Motye Solois and Panormus. In the rivalries of the Greek republics they found frequent occasions of interference, as the weaker party in the struggle turned to them for help. The 1st war however put an end to that, and secured the island to Rome.

P. 54, § 6. **Sicilia prov.** It was strictly speaking assigned to Sempronius, but as he was possibly to cross into Africa, the Prætor Æmilius was also appointed to it.

§ 7. **legati.** Besides the envoys so called, who were sent on extraordinary missions, there were regular officers, attached to the consular army, or the legion, as lieutenant-generals.

tribuni. Attached to each legion, six in number.

§ 8. The whole passage is very corrupt in the MSS., but the corrections of Madvig have been generally received. His earlier suggestion of *strepere* for *teneri* has not been admitted into the text. The change of form from *missi* (*sunt*) to *teneri* is in itself awkward, the MSS. read *et ubi... ne quis moram*, to which Madvig objects that the terms of the edict would be general, and not addressed to the sailors individually, and he therefore corrects it to *ne quid*, which would explain the object of the foregoing direction. The *et* he changes to *ut*, but this seems questionable. *Ut ne* is a pleonasm used by Cicero, but rarely by later writers, and Drakenborch doubts whether Livy wrote it in the three passages in which the MSS.

have it, XXXIV. 17. 8, XLII. 41. 10, and XLV. 23. 4, in all of which moreover the *ut ne* are found close together. It seems better to omit the *et* or *ut*. For the unmeaning word *simili* of the MSS. he reads *missis*, as an abl. abs. like *edicto prop.* W. prefers *missi*, with the *sunt* omitted, like the *missi legati* above. Hasenmüller suggests *missi milites*, which includes many of the letters found in the *simili* of the best MS. (Rhein. Mus. 1863.)

socii navales. In early days the Roman fleet was of little importance, and service in the navy ranked far lower than in the army. The ships were partly manned from the allies, and the coast towns were especially required to furnish their contingents of marines and rowers. Hence the term *socii navales*, though Romans of narrow means and *libertini* were also called upon to serve. This lower *status* lasted on even under the empire, as may be proved from the official careers indicated in the Inscriptions.

§ 9. **luna pernox.** Cf. V. 28. 10, and *alea pernox*, Juv. VIII. 10.

§ 10. **conclamatum**, *conscensum*, *præsensum*, V. 48. 10, *sævitum*.

§ 11. **demendis arm.** Cf. Drakenb., *dicuntur demi armamenta quum vela contrahuntur, mali inclinantur, antennæ componuntur; quod in pugna navali solemne erat.*

§ 13. **memoria...** There had been much hard fighting about Lilybæum in the 1st war. It was the scene of an obstinate siege, conducted by the Romans with great pertinacity, as well as of a disastrous storm which wrecked their fleet.

C. L. § 1. **conserere p.** 'To come to close quarters.'

§ 2. **eludere**, 'manœuvre,' 'avoid the shock.' Cf. II. 48. 7 and XXII. 18. 3, *hostem...statarium pugnæ genere facile elusit.* The Carthaginians had been much the more skilful in the 1st war, and the great victories of Rome were mainly gained by devices which paralysed the pilot's skill, and reduced matters to a trial of strength, as by the machine of Duilius, which locked the vessels together and enabled the Romans to board the enemy's ships.

§ 3. **affatim** = *ad fatim*, 'to weariness,' or 'satiety.' *Usque ad fatim*, Plaut. Pœn. III. 1. 31. Cf. *fatiscere*, *fatigare*, which Corssen I. 430 connects with the root of *fames*, *hiscere*, *haustum*, χαινω. In form the adverb is like *obviam*, *illico*, *perviam*, *extemplo*, *propemodum*, &c., as combination of prepos. and case.

P. 55. **sicubi conserta.** 'Whenever a ship was laid alongside of an enemy.'

§ 4. **sua** is used with reference to R., which though not a nominative is the real subject of the thought. 'The R. were encouraged by their numbers.'

§ 5. **tres nobiles.** Note the small number of Carthaginians of good family who were serving on board; the size of the fleet too was quite inadequate to its work, and indicates a growing neglect of the navy at Carthage.

§ 6. **perforata.** 'Stove in.'

§ 7. **classem ornare** is to fit out with tackle, sails, oars, &c. Cf. IX. 30. 2, *duumviros navales classis ornandæ reficiendæque causa.*

instructam. Some epithet must have dropped out here, and this one supplied by Madvig is as likely as any.

§ 8. **prætoriam.** Note the use of the adj. as in *prætorium* for general's tent, and *prætor. cohors*, though the consul was higher in military rank. But 'consul' was later in Italian usage, and pointed in its form to the *dual* office, rather than to the high rank.

§ 10. **quibusdam volentibus.** Livy here seems to copy a familiar Greek idiom, and to make *volentibus* a sort of *dativus comm.* with *fore*. 'Some would be well pleased with a revolution.' Cf. Sall. Jug. 84. 3, *neque plebei militia volenti putabatur*, Tac. Ann. I. 59, *ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat.* Yet the constr. is not found elsewhere in Livy, and it is possible to take *volentibus* as an abl. abs., and the position of the words agrees best with this view.

c. LI. § 1. **Melitam.** Malta, 88 miles from the Sicilian Pachynus. Strabo speaks only of the Maltese dogs in connection with it. It was an early Phœnician settlement, and the little island Gaulus close by has some remarkable remains of Phœnician art. On the question whether it was the same as the Melita of Acts xxviii. see J. Smith on the Voyage and Shipwreck of St Paul, p. 160.

P. 56, § 2. **sub corona venierunt.** 'Were sold by auction.' Aul. Gell. VII. 4 explains the phrase as derived from the garland put on the head of the slave offered for sale, or from the circle of soldiers or bystanders (*vulgi stante corona*) gathered round the captives. He prefers the former explanation. A like phrase is '*sub hasta ven.*' from the spear, as a symbol of the force on which the slavery rested. This has lasted on in the Subasta=auction in modern Italian.

§ 3. **insulas Vulcani.** Here used as a general expression for the whole group of the Liparæ, of which Thermessa was specially *ins. Vulc.*

§ 4. **nam forte** is a probable correction of Madvig for *jam forte*, which is abrupt and unusual.

Viboniensi agro. In the west of Bruttium. The Locrian colony of Hipponium was taken by Rome and called Vibo Valentia. Strabo VI. 1. 5.

§ 6. **mari supero.** The terms *superum* and *inferum* are commonly used of the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas respectively. Polybius says, III. 61, that the legionaries were told to make their way as they could to Ariminum at a fixed date, probably because the transports were not sufficient for so large a force. It will be seen that the R. generals did not spare the marching powers of the soldiers, if, as Polyb. states, they reached Ariminum in 40 days from Lilybæum, III. 68.

§ 7. **oram legens.** So *litora legens*, XXXV. 27. 6. The shorter road across the Apennines from Genoa was avoided, as the Ligurians could not be depended on to allow the army a safe passage, while on the great road, which was afterwards the Via Æmilia, they were nearer to the colonies and magazines on the Po.

profectus ad Trebiam. Nothing is said of the route of Sempronius, or of any attempt of Hannibal to prevent a junction of the two consular armies, yet we should expect to hear of this, if H. had been between the two, as most critics have believed.

c. LII. § 1. The subject to *declarabat* is the sentence *ambo cons. et q.*, which in English we should make an independent clause, 'as both consuls, &c....it was clear.'... This is a feature of Livy's involved style, as is also the use of the past part.

oppositum, for an abstract subst. *oppositio.*

spem nullam al. This is absurd, for Italy could raise many armies, as was proved by the muster-rolls given by Polyb. just before in the Gallic war.

§ 2. The *et minutus* of the MSS. is no doubt corrupt; even if some word has dropped out *minutus*, though not impossible, is harsh for 'dispirited,' for the Homeric μινύθειν quoted in illustration does little to support the reading. Madv. doubtfully suggests *admonitus* instead.

trahi rem. Used also II. 61. 5, like the colloquial 'drag along,' so *trahere bellum, comitia*, &c., and *extrahere, protrahere*.

recentis animi. A common form in Livy. Cf. III. 38. 8, *præferocis animi*, XXII. 29. 8, *infimi ingenii.*

§ 3. **inter Trebiam.** These were most likely to the east of the Trebia, for on the west lay the Ligures, and the Gallic allies of H., as the Insubres. § 9 implies that some at least were to the west, if the R. were on the east of the T.

per ambiguum, i.e. maintaining friendly attitude to both sides, and so doubtless intending to gain the good will of the conqueror.

P. 57, § 4. **modo ne quid.** 'Provided only that they did not.' Cf. *tantum ne*, 19. 5.

§ 6. **ad id dubios.** 'Up to that time undecided.'

ab auct. To be taken with *declinant.* 'Turn from the authors of the outrage to those who they hoped would avenge it.'

§ 7. **infida...perfidia.** The Romans used these epithets very freely of any races who made a bold stand for their independence.

ut alia v. 'If other memories of the past could be forgotten.' Cf. II. 38. 2, *ut omnia obliviscamini alia, hanc contumeliam quo tandem animo fertis.*

§ 8. 'S. urged that the best ties to strengthen the loyalty of their allies (dat. of the aim of the action) would be found in the defence of the first who claimed their help.' The use of *defensos* for an abstract substantive is a bold construction, like *oppositum* in § 1.

§ 9. **Coll. cunctante** is Madvig's correction for the reading *cum collegam cunctantem*, with no verb to complete it. Corssen derives *collega*, not from *legere*, but from the same root as *lex*, *legatus*, *ligare*, *privilegium*, in the sense of 'bound together with,' like *conjuges.*

§ 10. **ad hoc.** Often used by Livy like Greek πρὸς τούτοις. Cf. 54. 8, 55. 6.

inopinato. Madvig's correction for *inopinatos*, which is not used for *inopinantes.*

§ 11. The MSS. gave *sequentesque cunque*, which was probably corrected by Gronovius to the present text. The words *cædes penes* in italics are a suggestion of Madvig to complete what would be else a hopeless passage. W. has done well to withdraw his earlier conjecture of *Romano*, understanding *famâ vict.* with *hostium.*

c. LIII. § 1. **maior**, i.e. *victoria*, from the last line.

P. 58, § 3. **senescendum.** This is a favourite metaphor with Livy. 'Dotage,' cf. I. 22. 3, *senescere civitatem otio ratus*, v. 21. 7, *senescit pugna.*

Quid. 'To what purpose.'

aut. 'Or rather.' Cf. v. 52. 6, *quid alia...cui oblivioni aut negligentiæ damus.*

§ 4. **Siciliam s.** Referring probably to the Carthaginian fleet sent to ravage the coast of Sicily, &c., c. 51.

§ 5. **ingemiscant.** The pres. subj. implies that the shades of their ancestors were actually conscious of the disgrace.

bellare soliti. A rhetorical extravagance in generalizing from the campaign of Regulus, itself disastrous.

§ 6. **contionabundus.** 'As if haranguing the soldiery.' The form in *-bundus* is a favourite one with Livy. Cf. III. 47. 2, *hæc prope contionabundus circumibat homines*, II. 38. 2, *ibi in contionis modum orationem exorsus.*

comitiorum. Here put for 'elections,' though the Comitia met for legislative as well as elective ends.

ne in novos cons. 'To another year.' For the common idiom of putting the consuls for the year, cf. XLI. 8, *legati ad novos magistratus dilati.* They took office on the Ides of March, and it was now winter. This jealousy of successors in office had often a sinister influence on Roman policy. Campaigns were rashly undertaken to gain speedy victories, and important measures neglected because they would not produce their results until a rival's turn came to profit by them.

§ 8. **haud diffidebat.** Livy's use of *haud* instead of *non* is commonly confined to those verbs which imply some sort of negative meaning like *dubito*, *pœnitet*, *aspernor*, *displicet*, *abnuo*, &c. Cf. Fabri.

P. 59, § 11. **facere, si cess.** 'To force an engagement, if hesitation were shown.'

c. LIV. § 1. **rivus.** An unknown streamlet, W. of the Trebia, possibly one that flows by Casaleggio.

obsitus. Cf. I. 15. 8, *partem militum locis circa densa obsita virgulta obscuris subsidere in insidiis jussit.*

tegendo. The earlier editors all read *ad equites tegendos*, a more usual constr. than the dative gerund which most MSS.

have. Madvig remarks, *nullum prosæ orationis certum exemplum novi ubi dativus gerundii accusativum regat.* He thinks that perhaps we ought to read *equiti* which is found in an inferior MS.

§ 2. **centenos.** The distributive is used because there were the same number both of horse and foot.

corpora curare. Frequent in Livy. Cf. *cutem curare.* In English we do not particularize, but say 'refresh themselves.'

§ 3. **prætorium.** The staff, or council of war, consisting of *legati, tribuni, centuriones primi pili,* and *præfecti,* so called from meeting in the general's tent. On the use of *missum* for 'dismissed,' cf. the origin of the term *mass,* from the last words of the service *missa est.*

Robora virorum. Abstr. for concrete. Cf. 34. 5, *robore peditum.*

turmis. Troops of 30 horsemen, ten of which formed the cavalry of each legion. Varro, Ling. Lat. v. 91, explains the word *turma terima (e in u abiit) quod ter deni equites ex tribus tribubus fiebant.*

manipulis. Each legion had 30 maniples of 100 infantry each. Afterwards each *manipulus* was divided into two *centuriæ.* They were called from the bundle of hay, which in rude days was the sign of each, *perticas manipulis fœni varie formatis in summo junctas.* Aur. Vict. Orig. R. 22. 4.

§ 4. **mille eq. mille ped.** Livy is fond of this sort of repetition without a conjunction. Cf. I. 25. 12, *fessum vulnere fessum cursu.*

Magone. The MSS. have *Magoni* and no *cum,* which, or some equivalent, seems required.

iniecto cert. Cf. XXXIV. 4. 15, *iniicere certamen uxoribus.*

§ 6. The MSS. have *destinatum......consilio,* 'to the struggle which he had long been planning,' possibly understanding *certamen* or *id quod,* but the constr. is harsh, and is therefore corrected by Madvig. Sempronius neglected in this battle the most elementary rules of war. He fought with a river in his rear, where defeat was ruin. He exposed his army to attack while crossing in full view of the enemy, and he ignored the most obvious precautions as to food and cold. On the other hand, Hannibal's confidence in his own genius is shown in letting the Roman army cross the river and form upon the bank without taking advantage of their confusion. His policy was not to defeat merely, but to annihilate the enemy, and to prove to the world that he was more than a match for the Romans on a fair field.

P. 60, § 8. **quicquid.** 'The nearer they came to the currents of air about the river, the more piercing was the frosty breeze.' Cf. VII. 32. 4, *quicquid ab urbe longius proferrent arma*, VIII. 39. 3, *quicquid progrediebantur*, where *quicquid* is used adverbially for *quanto magis*.

§ 9. **pectoribus tenus aucta.** 'Swollen so as to be breast high.' Proleptically.

utique egressis. 'The more so as they stepped out of the water.'

c. LV. § 2. **octo f. millia.** This number is too large for the B. only, and Madvig therefore inserts *ac* before *levem*. Polyb. III. 72 says τοὺς λογχοφόρους καὶ Βαλεαρεῖς.

virium...roboris. Cf. the same combination XXI. 1. 2. *Robur* emphasizes the power of endurance.

§ 3. **receptui.** The dative is one of a class of verbal substantives and gerundival expressions, which may be explained as the dative of the contemplated end, as *decemviri legibus scribendis, oleas usui optime condi, &c.* The *signum receptui* becomes a compound subject in the nomin., as III. 22. 10, *si receptui cecinisset.* Cf. Roby Lat. Gr. II. XXXII.

§ 4. **Duodeviginti,** i. e. five legions, after deducting losses in Gaul and garrisons in Sicily. But Polyb. reckons only 16,000, and specifies that as the strength of the four legions which both consuls combined on great occasions. He repeatedly says that the *socii* furnished about as many infantry, and three times as many cavalry as the Romans. The muster-rolls contained 325,000 R. with 443,000 socii in Italy fit for service at this time. The *auxilia* were now Italian; Cisalpine Gaul was not yet considered as Italy.

nominis Lat. This term originally applied to the towns in Latium only, who stood in definite relation to the Roman state. Gradually however some of these were drawn closer to the mistress city, and their inhabitants admitted to the full franchise, while their place was taken by fresh colonies that were sent out, and by communities of central Italy, which were raised to the same status. In course of time therefore the *nomen Latinum* became more political and less ethnic in its associations. It now included a few towns in Latium, the Latin colonies, and most of the tribes in the centre.

Cenomanorum. These, with the Veneti, had been the only Gauls faithful to Rome in the recent Gallic war, and even their fidelity had been mistrusted, cf. Polyb. II. 23. They held the country between the Adda and the Adige, where they had

settled after their migration from Gaul (Livy v. 34). Brixia (Brescia) was their capital.

§ 5. **diducta** is a correction of Drakenb. for *deducta*; for the *leves armaturæ sunt* of the MSS. Madvig replaces *levis armatura*, as the plural is quite unnecessary.

P. 61, § 8. **quas recentes...** We require in English a less involved constr. 'for the Carth. had come in the freshness of their strength.'

Restitissent... 'Their courage would have held out.'

§ 10. **Tamen.** For the position and context of *t.* Fabri compares I. 24. 1, *tamen in re tam clara nominum error manet.*

§ 11. **velites.** Livy uses this term proleptically, for XXVI. 4. 5 he describes the formation of a class of light troops so called, to be carried behind the horsemen, and to dismount when it came to close quarters. They were incorporated with the legions (*institutum ut velites in legionibus essent*) as they were better armed with *parma* and *gladius* than the *rorarii ferentarii accensi velati* of early times, who now disappear from sight. The *velites* themselves were abolished by Marius. For their use against elephants, cf. Vegetius III. 24, *præcipue velites antiqui adversum elephantos ordinarunt.*

ad id ipsum. The MSS. omit the *id*, as they do *eos* in v. 43. 4, *per ipsos dies*, contrary to the ordinary usage. On the need of supplying the demonstrative, cf. Madvig on Cic. de fin. III. 27.

verutis. Livy had mentioned this dart as one of the weapons of the 4th class of the Servian centuries, I. 43. 6.

c. LVI. § 1. **adversus G.** The Gauls had less experience of elephants than the Romans, who had learnt their habits in the 1st war.

Hannibal. The position of the subject at the end of the sentence is characteristic of the difference between the order of ancient and modern languages, which is here pushed to an extreme.

§ 2. **in orbem pugn.** The form implies two ideas, the being forced *in orbem*, and the fighting in that order. Sallust Jug. 97 thus explains it, *Romani veteres et ob id scientes belli, si quos locus aut casus conjunxerat,* orbes facere, *atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi simul vim sustentabant.* It thus resembles our 'forming square.' Cf. II. 50. 5, *orbem colligere*, IV. 28. 3, *orbem volventes suos*, Cæsar B. G. v. 33. 3, *in orbem consisterent.*

qua Gallicis is a correction of Madvig for *quæ G.* of the MSS. The centre was formed of all the infantry, not of Gauls and Africans alone.

P. 62, § 3. **Placentiam recto it.** Livy and Polyb. both mention the retreat of this body to P. without adding that they crossed over a bridge. If we hold to the view that the battle was fought on the west of the Trebia, we must assume that they crossed by a permanent bridge held by the garrison of P., or in boats which they may have found, as in § 8.

§ 5. **audaciam ingr.** Perhaps to balance the *cunctatio ingrediendi* just above. In itself it is an unusual expression, *audacia* being commonly used by itself.

§ 8. **sauciorum** is added to make sense of the passage which is very harsh without some such epithet, even if *magna ex parte* be taken, as Fabri suggests, with *trajicerent.* Beside *m. ex parte* Livy uses *maxima parte, magna parte*, and *partem magnam* much in the same sense of 'mainly.'

ratibus T. This seems decisive as to Livy's view that the battle was fought on the Eastern bank, while the camp was on the W. of the Trebia, improbable as it is on all accounts. Polyb. has no corresponding passage, and Livy's authority in matters of geography is very slight.

c. lvii. § 1. **urbem Romanam.** Heerwagen notes that L. uses this expression at times with a certain rhetorical emphasis, cf. iii. 7. 1.

§ 2. **alterum.** This is a correction of Madvig for the *altero...revocato* of the MSS., which mars the antithesis, and involves an awkward series of phrases.

quas alias leg. There were many legions yet to be called out, as subsequent events proved. Polyb. instead of such exaggerations speaks of the reinforcements sent to Sicily and elsewhere, and remarks that the Romans were most formidable in times of crisis, iii. 75.

§ 3. **ingenti periculo.** A very unnecessary exposure, as a dictator or interrex might have conducted the elections. Polyb. says that Sempr. concealed his losses in the despatches to Rome, and does not mention the journey. As he passed through Rome on his way to Trebia (Polyb. iii. 68) he might easily have held the elections there.

P. 63. **fallendi.** 'Of escaping notice,' cf. for this absolute use 48. 5. xxii. 33. 1.

§ 4. **C. Flaminius.** Fabri remarks that as Flam. was consul in B.C. 222, the word *iterum* must have slipped out, for Livy seldom omitted it after the 4th book. It is left out however in XXII. 15. 6, after M. Atilius Regulus.

§ 5. **ut quæque.** 'Where the ground was too rough for them,' i.e. marshes or hills. *ut* seems unneeded.

Celtiberis L. Cf. XXII. 18. 3.

§ 6. **Emporium.** The Greek ἐμπορεῖον=trading place or magazine (cf. Cheap-side, Chipping Norton, Copenhagen) gave a name to many places, as to the *Emporiæ* of 60. 2.

plurimum in cel. 'His hopes of success depended chiefly on keeping his plan secret.' *ad effectum* to be taken after *spei*.

Hannibal could bring no siege train with him over the Alps, and could not risk long delay in besieging the Roman fortresses, with their large garrisons of colonists, while the fickle Gauls were waiting for the issue.

§ 7. **consul.** Sempronius had gone to Rome, § 3, and Scipio to Cremona, 56. 9. Livy either forgot this statement, or neglected to mention the return of Scipio to Placentia.

§ 9. **Victumvias.** Like *Victumulæ* or Ictumuli in form, and probably to be identified with it. Cf. note on 45. 3.

§ 10. **finitimis pop.** This may refer to the Ligures as well as the different tribes of Gauls.

§ 12. **Magis agmina**...'more of a crowd than an army,' a phrase repeated in XXV. 34. 9 and elsewhere.

P. 64, § 14. **scribentibus.** Equivalent to *scriptoribus*=historians.

omnis...editum exemplum. An elliptical expression for 'acts were done...to stand out as a precedent for.' Cf. XXV. 31. 9, *quum multa iræ multa avaritiæ fœda exempla ederentur.*

hibernæ exped. None of these winter operations are mentioned by Polyb.

C. LVIII. § 2. **Ligures.** Cf. 59. 10. This may account for the roundabout journey of Sempronius from Sicily.

§ 3. **Transeuntem Ap.** This expedition into Etruria is not noticed by Polybius. The Etrurians had before combined with the Gauls against Rome, and there seemed hope that they might rise again, especially as they were so distinct in race from the other peoples of central Italy. H. wished doubtless

to relieve the Gauls of the burden of maintaining his army, but it is most likely that he wanted to open communications with the Carthaginian fleet, which had orders to cruise off Pisæ (Pol. III. 96). He probably moved by a shorter pass towards the coast, rather than that which he traversed later in the spring. This movement may account for the fact that Sempronius took up his winter quarters at Luca, to watch the outlets of the maritime Alps, and to protect the coast road to Rome.

vertice intorti affligebantur. 'Were dashed to the ground by the whirlwind.' The use of a participle in Latin for a prepos. as in *ira, misericordia motus*, &c. is very common: the use of *intorti* seems an extension of the same idiom, the distinctive meaning of the word being really part of the idea of the *vertex*, cf. Nägelsbach 330. Yet the phrase is used elsewhere as in XXVIII. 30. 13, *navem videre vertice retro intortam.* For the meaning of *vertex* see Quintil. VIII. 2. 7, *vertex est contorta in se aqua vel quicquid aliud similiter vertitur.* For *affligebantur*, cf. the old reading in 35. 12.

§ 6. **capti auribus.** Cf. II. 36. 11, *captus omnibus membris*, or 'having lost the use of,' so *pedibus, animo captus.*

§ 7. **explicare**, of the canvas, *statuere*, of the tent poles.

P. 65, § 9. **extollere...levare.** Most of the MSS. have *attollere*, for which Heerwagen compares Verg. Æn. IV. 690, *ter sese attollens cubitoque annixa levavit.* But *extoll.*, a more graphic term, expressive of the effort to rise from the *strages.*

§ 10. **movere** is used after *cœpere* understood in *est cœptus.*

opem...inops. Cf. Hor. Carm. III. 16. 28, *magnas inter opes inops.*

§ 11. **elephanti.** Polyb. says that only one survived the cold and storms at Trebia, but probably he is anticipating the result of the year's campaign.

c. LIX. § 1. There is something rather meaningless in the movements of H. towards Placentia and in general too much seems to be compressed into the short winter, as the battle of Trebia could not have been fought before December. Polyb. ignores all these operations.

§ 3. **vincerent**, i. e. *Romani* understood in *res Romana.*

§ 4. **in media c.** Into the centre of the camp, where they would be unseen by the enemy and be ready to issue in any direction.

§ 5. **Romanus**, for the R. general as *Pœnus* for H.

§ 6. **laxatam p.** Cf. *lax. custodias*, 32. 12.

P. 66, § 7. The MSS. reading is *pugna raro magis ullaeaut utriusque*...for which W. suggests *magis ulla sæva aut*...which is a very awkward collocation. It is better to leave a blank as no adjective would come in happily, and the passage is corrupt. Madvig thinks '*magis dubia aut*,' probable.

§ 8. **plus**, with two constr., with abl. *sexcentis* and nom. *dimidium*. *Ejus* 'that number.'

§ 9. **equestris ord. al.** In early days at Rome the *equites* had been drawn exclusively from the nobler and wealthier classes, but after a time an increasing number of volunteers were allowed to serve on horseback, while the *equites equo publico* were relieved of the obligation of service. The latter were often sons of senators, or men of high position, but the cavalry did not long rank high in the army, and was drawn largely from the allies. Strictly the phrase *equest. ordo* is an anachronism, as no such distinction was made before the Gracchi.

The term '*præfecti*' was especially used for the officers of the allied contingents, as well as of the navy, cf. 61. 4. In the Roman army it was little used till the time of the Empire.

§ 10. **Luca** was on the Ausar (Serchio) and made a colony B.C. 178, having been gained from the Ligures soon after the 1st Punic war. It was often made the head-quarters of J. Cæsar. This movement of Sempronius is quite unexplained by Livy, and is ignored by Polybius. It was probably to guard the coast road to Rome, and passes of the mountains by which Hannibal might open his communications with the fleets of Carthage, see note on 58. 3. But it was hazardous to leave the road by Ariminum unguarded.

c. LX. § 2. **Emporiæ**, now Ampurias on the coast of Catalonia, had been one of the early Phokæan colonies, most of which, with the exception of Massilia, fell before the Phœnicians. It is to be distinguished from the African Emporia round the Syrtis Minor.

§ 3. **Læetanis.** So read by Madvig instead of Lacetanis (cf. 23. 2), who were further inland. Strabo says, III. 47, that from the Pillars to Tarraco there was no good harbour except Nova Carthago *ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἤδη τὰ ἑξῆς εὔλιμενα καὶ χώρα ἀγαθὴ τῶν τε Λεηταvῶν καὶ......μέχρι Ἐμπορίου.* Pliny too while describing the populations on the coast mentions the Cessetani

near Tarraco, the Ilergetes on the river Rubricatus, *a quo Lætani et Indigetes.* Ptolemy locates them near the Rubricatus and Barcino. Cf. Hübner, Hermes, I. 340.

§ 4. **non ad maritimos.** We may explain the *ad* either as taken with *fama conciliata,* like I. 26. 4, *ingrati ad vulgus judicii,* or more probably as the local extension of *valuit,* 'spread to.'

auxiliorum. Used of non-Italian allies, Fest. Epit. 17, *auxiliares dicuntur in bello socii Romanorum exterarum nationum.*

cohortes. The usual term for the divisions of the contingents of the Italian *socii,* as distinct from the legions. Each *cohort* had from 400 to 600 men, and there were 10 of them in an *ala,* which answered to the legion.

P. 67, § 7. **Nec magni cert.** 'Nor was the battle vigorously disputed,' a gen. of quality as *præda parvi pretii manc.* § 8.

capiuntur. A constr. *ad synesim,* the subject being the plural understood in *dux cum militibus.* Cf. XXII. 21. 4, *tribunus cum...missi,* according to the MS. reading. This constr. is rare except when the subject is separated from the predicate by intermediate clauses as Sallust. Cat. 43, *Lentulus cum ceteris......constituerant,* or Jug. 101.

Cissis seems to represent the capital of the tribe Cessetani, who appear in Pliny III. 3. 21, and Ptolemy, II. 6. 17, in close connection with Tarraco, where numerous coins have been discovered with inscriptions, *kesse, kese, kse* in characters common on Iberian coins.

§ 8. **parvi pret.** and *vilium manc.* both genitives of qual. after *præda,* though the constr. is broken by *supellex barb.* which is in apposition with *præda.*

c. LXI. § 1. **accideret.** Cf. 10. 12, *nomen famaque ejus accideret.*

mille equitum. An unusual constr., the genitive being put for the abl. owing to its close connection with *peditum,* which properly follows the substantival *millibus.* Cf. XXIII. 44. 10, *mille passuum inter urbem erant castraque.*

§ 2. **Tarraco** was planted on a high limestone rock, which overlooked the sea and the sunny plain, whose wines were praised by Martial as rivalling the Falernian. There are still remains of the walls, whose huge polygonal masonry points to the work of the Iberian tribes, before the fortress was chosen

by the Romans as a convenient centre for their operations during the war with Hannibal. As such they strengthened it till it became their great stronghold. *Scipionum opus sicut Carthago Pœnorum*, Pliny III. 3. 21. Its bad roadstead however made it far inferior to its rival, which became the capital of the nearer Province, though in later days Strabo, III. 4. 7, said that Tarraco was become as populous. See also note on Livy XXII. 22. 2.

classicos milites. 'Marines.' The allied towns on the coast often had to furnish a contingent of these. In later Latin *classici* stands absolutely without *milites*.

§ 4. **animadvertisset.** 'Inflicted punishment.'

P. 68, § 5. **Ilergetum.** Cf. 23. 2, as also for the Ausetani.

§ 8. **Ausetanos.** The description, *prope Hiberum*, is probably a mistake of Livy, as the geographers put them near Vich and Gerona, cf. 23. 2. Scipio most likely attacked the Ausetani first, and then the Lætani, who lay along the coast as far as Barcelona, and finally the powerful Ilergetes, whom Ptolemy describes as reaching to Ilerda. If Livy is right, Scipio may have pushed on to attack first the chief tribe that had revolted, without waiting to chastise the rest till his return. Cf. Hübner, Hermes, I. 93.

§ 10. **minus quattuor.** For the omission of *quam* cf. Lucr. IV. 415, *digitum non amplior unum*, and Verg. Ecl. III. 105, *tres pateat cæli spatium non amplius ulnas.*

pluteos. The *pl.* was a sort of semicircular hurdle covered with skins, and moved on three castors, as a screen to the besieging engineers. Veget. IV. 15, *plutei qui ad similitudinem absidis contexuntur et vimine et ciliciis vel coriis proteguntur, ternisque rotulis, quarum una in medio, duæ in capitibus apponuntur,...admoventur.*

tutamentum. A very rare word.

c. LXII. For general information on the subject of this chapter, and explanation of the technical terms, see the Excursus on the Roman Religion. The list of portents recounted here, and in the next book of Livy, are doubtless extracted directly, or through the Annalists from the records of the *collegium pontificum*. They may seem ludicrous to a modern reader, but it would be rash to assume, as has been lately suggested, that they were intended by Livy to stir any feeling of ridicule or disbelief. It was enough for his purpose to

pourtray the boding fears, and the readiness to listen to such stories; elsewhere he speaks of the *negligentia qua nihil deos portendere nunc credunt*, yet Dion Cassius, one of the devoutest of historians, inserts like lists centuries later.

§ 2. **foro olitorio.** The herb market was between the Capitoline hill and the Tiber; the temple of Spes just beyond the *porta Carmentalis* was twice burnt down and restored.

triumphum clam. The common cry was *Io triumphe*, probably here referred to. Cf. XXIV. 10. 4, *infantem in utero matris Io triumphe clamasse.* Hor. Carm. IV. 2. 50. *Triumphus* is a Latinized form of *θρίαμβος*.

P. 69, § 3. **f. boario.** Between the Circus Maximus and the Tiber, one of the most crowded thoroughfares in Rome.

§ 4. **Lanuvii. Amiternino...** Only those portents were regarded as of state concern, the scene of which was *ager Romanus*. The spaces specified in this chapter, and XXII. 1, ranked by this time as Roman territory.

in aedem Iunonis, i.e. of *Juno Sospita* XXII. 1. 17, whose great temple is often mentioned, and was restored as late as the Antonines.

§ 5. **hominum specie.** A modal abl. with *visos*, though in sense it forms the subject, and *visos* is the predicate. We feel in sentences like these the want of a Latin partic. like the Greek *ὄντες* to define the subject. Cf. III. 57. 9, *non juniores modo sed etiam* (*οἱ*) *emeritis stipendiis* (*ὄντες*).

Caere, now Cervetri (*Caere vetus*), often mentioned as the scene of prodigies. Its religious associations with Rome were of early date, and are connected with the story of the Vestal Virgins taking refuge there from the Gauls. Festus' derivation of *caeremonia* from it, fanciful as it is, points in the same direction.

sortes extenuatas. The *sortes* which thus 'shrunk' were slips of wood, on which proverbial phrases were written in archaic letters, and from which one or more were drawn at random when advice or guidance might be needed; cf. Cic. de divin. II. 41. 69. The most famous were at Praeneste, in the temple of Fortuna, but in the 1st Punic war a consul, who wished to consult them, was sternly forbidden by the senate. In the Corpus Inscr. Lat. I. 267 are copies of a number which came probably from Patavium (Padua). They are oblong plates of bronze, with a little hook by which they were strung together, whence their derivation, *sortes a serie et*

serendo, ut fors a ferendo, mons ab eminendo, fons a findendo, pons a petendo. Hence the portent *unam excidisse*, XXII. 1. 11. As to the shrinking, cf. the story in Pliny, 34. 38, of the 'lucky' farthing in the family of the Servilii, which grew larger and smaller to portend good and ill luck. Cf. also the story in Herodotus VIII. 137 of the portentous loaves of the young Perdiccas which used to grow to double the natural size.

§ 6. **decemviri**, i. e. *sacris faciundis*. These since 367 B.C. had taken the place of the IIviri who had special charge of the *libri Sibyllini*. In later days these books were under the care of the XVviri. Cf. Hor. Carm. Sæc. 69, *quindecim Diana preces virorum | curat.* Vergil makes Æneas promise the Cumæan Sibyl to have her oracles thus cared for, Æn. VI. 72, *Hic ego namque tuas sortes arcanaque fata | dicta meæ genti ponam, lectosque sacrabo | alma viros.*

§ 7. **quibus editum est.** 'To whom they were enjoined (by the sacred books) to offer them.' *Edere* is the usual term for such oracular warnings.

§ 8. **pondo.** The old abl. was added to the amount specified as *libra pondo*, *uncia pondo*, a pound or ounce by weight, and afterwards used absolutely as here, the *libris* being omitted. By a further license *auri pondo* becomes a nomin. for 'a quantity of gold.' Cf. XXVI. 14. 8, *auri pondo duo millia septuaginta fuit.*

Iunoni in Avent. The temple of Juno Regina of Veii was dedicated by Camillus, v. 22. When her t. was struck with lightning the matrons, as here, made a collection to present an offering, and virgins sang a processional hymn, XXVII. 37. 7.

§ 9. **lectisternium iuventuti.** The common reading is *Iuventati*, 'for the genius of youth,' but as Madvig points out the words *deinde universo pop.* imply that some charge on a special order has been already mentioned. Yet he doubtfully accepts the change, as a *lectisternium* was a priestly ceremony, though XXII. 1. 20 *senatores straverunt. Lectisternia* were first introduced B.C. 399, cf. Servius ad Verg. G. III. 533, *pulvinaria pro templis ponimus, cum sint proprie lectuli, qui sterni in templis consuerunt.* Hor. Carm. I. 37. 2, *nunc Saliaribus | ornare pulvinar deorum | tempus erat dapibus, Sodales.*

ad aedem Herculis. This, with the *Ara Maxima*, was probably at the W. corner of the Circus Maximus and was con-

nected with the story of Hercules and Cacus as given by Vergil. The statue of Herc. in bronze now in the Capitol was found there.

Genio, i.e. *populi Romani*, or the guardian Spirit of the city, mentioned here for the first time. It was however one of the oldest beliefs in Italy that every family or guild or social union had its divine patron, to whom honour must be paid. The Lares, Manes, Penates, belonging to the worship of ancestral spirits, correspond to various sides of the same thought. The first beginning of the Cæsar worship of the Empire may be traced to the time when Augustus placed the bust of his own Genius beside those of the Lares in the numerous chapels of the city.

§ 10. **si.** 'In the event that.' Cf. xxx. 27. 7, *voverat si per quinquennium res publica eodem statu fuisset.*

c. LXIII. § 1. **designatorum.** So called between the elections and the ides of March when they formally took office.

legiones...sorte. This was unusual. The senate usually disposed of the legions; the consuls drew lots for their *provinciæ.*

edictum. The proper term for a proclamation formally put out by a magistrate on his own authority, as distinguished from a *lex*, or *plebiscitum*, of the Comitia, or a *senatus consultum.*

edictum et lit. is a hendiadys for *edictum per literas.*

P. 70, § 2. **quæ tribunus plebis.** Specially referring to the agrarian law of 232 B.C. assigning land in Picenum to Roman colonists, which provoked the rising of the Gauls, and was called by Polyb., II. 21, 'the beginning of the decline of the Roman constitution,' probably because of the high-handed way in which the sentiments of the senate were ignored. C. Flaminius was consul 223, and led the legions across the Po to attack the Insubres. Polyb. II. 32 accuses him of bad strategy, though the Gauls were routed. Meantime the senate mistrusting his rashness, or alarmed by omens, sent to recall him, on the ground of the sentence of the augurs *consules vitio creatos.* Fl. would not open the despatches till the battle was over, and refused to abdicate. On his return the senate would not allow him a public triumph, but he entered the city in triumphal procession despite their refusal.

abrogabatur. Cf. note on XXII. 25. 10.

§ 3. **novam l.** 'Unprecedented.'

adverso sen. 'In the teeth of the senate;' though the sanction of the senate was not constitutionally necessary, it was scarcely ever ignored.

§ 4. **ad fructus**, i.e. for the stowage of the produce of their own estates as distinct from speculative ventures in foreign trade.

indecorus visus. *Patribus* to be taken with *ind.* not *visus.* This law may have been popular (*v. favorem apud plebem*) with the people generally, from the barbarous prejudice against trade which had been so largely shared by the old races of the West, and which made it seem discreditable to the governing classes. The immediate cause may have been to prevent the ruling families from abusing their power in the provinces to enrich themselves and their friends by commercial speculations, supported by all the powers of the government. The prohibition therefore extended to the sons of the senators, or to the class as a whole. But it was also popular with the middle class, which thus escaped the competition of the wealthiest families in speculation. The law was at once a cause, and an effect of the growing power of a moneyed aristocracy, which was afterwards known as the *ordo equester*. Cicero afterwards speaks of this regulation as obsolete, Verr. v. 18. 45, *antiquæ sunt istæ leges et mortuæ quæ vetant* (*ædificare navem senatorem*).

§ 5. **auspiciis ement.** Cf. x. 40. 4, *Pullarius auspicium mentiri ausus.* The whole system of *auspicia* had been so grossly abused for political objects, that statesmen ceased to regard it as anything but an engine of statecraft.

Latin. feriarum. This ancient festival dated from the days when Rome was a member of the Latin league, and the highest magistrates of the various towns (ἄπασα ἡ συναρχία, Strabo) went in solemn procession to the temple of *Jupiter Latiaris* on the Alban mount. This was kept up for ages, and more days were added to commemorate the reconciliation of Plebs and Patres. The consuls were expected to offer the sacrifices, and one of their first duties was *concipere fer. Lat.*, or to fix a time for the great festival.

consularibus impedim. 'Hindrances thrown in the consul's way,' like *dictatoria invidia*, XXII. 26. 4.

§ 7. **inauspicato.** It was held to be the duty of the general on the day of his leaving Rome for the wars to go up to the Capitol to take the auspices at daybreak. After the *votorum nuncupatio* he put on the short purple *paludamentum* (otherwise *sagum* or *chlamys*), and was escorted by his friends beyond the gates. *Ad bellum cum exit imperator ac lictores*

mutarunt vestem et signa incinxerunt paludatus dicitur proficisci, Varro, l. l. 7. 37.

cons. spretorum (*sc. Deorum a. hom.*). The reading of Gronovius for *conscientias pretorum* of MSS.

veterum nunc. One of the first ceremonies on the day of taking office (*die initi mag.*) was to go to the Capitol with kinsmen and friends, to sit upon the curule chair, and thank Jupiter *opt. max.* for the mercies of the past year, offering the victims promised by the out-going consuls, and vowing others for the year to follow (*vot. nuncupatio*). They then presided over a meeting of the senate on the Capitol, treating chiefly *de solemni religione.* Polyb. says nothing of this conduct of Flaminius, nor does Appian. It reads like an afterthought, coloured by patrician prejudices, to account for the disaster which followed.

§ 9. **clam furtim.** A pleonasm, like *forte temere*, and other repetitions used by Livy.

P. 71. exilii causa. Our word '*exile*' calls up different associations. At Rome a citizen could give up the rights and duties of citizenship and take up his residence in an allied community which had the relation of *ἰσοπολιτεία* with Rome, like the Latin states. This privilege, called *exilium*, might be used even during prosecution for political offences, and the accused might thus anticipate the issue of his trial.

§ 10. **Romae mag. init.** Though irregular, this was not invalid. Augustus, careful as he was of constitutional forms, did not observe the rule. Sueton. 26, *nec omnes* (*consulatus*) *Romae sed quartum consulatum in Asia, quintum insula Samo, octavum et nonum Tarracone iniit.*

§ 12. **nihilo magis...** The constitution gave the senate no power to dictate to the consuls, though the executive officials rarely ventured to set at nought the authority of so august a body. Flaminius was anticipating the policy of the Gracchi in trying to humble the senate, and depend on popular support.

moverunt...moverant. The Latin ear seems to have liked such repetitions of the same word, as they frequently occur.

§ 13. **immolanti ei, &c.** A frequent omen of ill-luck. *Cf.* a like case of J. Cæsar, Sueton. 59, *licet immolanti aufugisset hostia profectionem...non distulerit.*

§ 14. **in omen acc.** For the use of the preposition, cf. Cic. ad Att. xv. 11, *beneficium accepisse in contumeliam.*

§ 15. **a Sempronio.** He had wintered at Luca, c. 59. The legions had probably remained at Placentia, and were then in obedience to the edict, § 1, marched to Ariminum, to be immediately led through a little frequented pass of the Apennines (*tramites*) into Etruria. Had they been with Sempronius at Luca, it would have been a strangely roundabout course. But the whole is confused. Livy seems to have forgotten that Sempronius was not at Placentia.

C. Atilius was at Tannetum, 26. 2, and at Rome, 62. 10. He may have gone to the Po to take command of Scipio's legions. Appian, I. 8. 3, represents Servilius in command on the Po.

exercitus is not the proper subject to which the abl. abs. *acceptis* refers. Probably the sentence points to a close, like *exercitum ducere cœpit.*

BOOK XXII.

c. I. § 2. **pro eo, ut...** A clumsy equivalent for the Greek *ἀντὶ τοῦ...φέρειν*. Fabri compares VIII. 14. 2, *cum eo, ut aedes ...lucusque.. communis esset*, IV. 56. 1, *in eo ut*, &c.

rapuerant agerentque. A common phrase for 'plundering,' to include furniture and cattle, otherwise expressed by *ferre agere, portare agere*, Greek *φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν*. Hence used metaphorically III. 37. 6, *ferre agere plebem plebisque res*.

§ 3. **ipsorum inter se.** 'Was saved by their mutual treachery, as they disclosed their conspiracy, &c.' On this use of *inter se*, cf. XXI. 39. 9, *auxerant inter se opinionem*.

tegumenta cap. Polyb. gives a more minute account of the false wigs which he wore to disguise his age and features. Hannibal may have remembered the death of his brother-in-law Hasdrubal, XXI. 2. 5, or have wished to explore the temper of his army.

errore. 'Uncertainty.' Cf. I. 24. 2, *nominum error*, II. 21. 5, *errores temporum*.

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profundas. 'Almost bottomless,' because they found only mud below.

immergentesque. 'Taking to swimming.'

P. 75, § 8. **in sicco.** For this local use of abl. neut. abs. cf. *in aperto, in arto, in summo, in Hernico, ex propinquo*, which with others are used by Livy.

The insertion of *aut* seems necessary to distinguish two distinct classes. (Madvig.)

mutarunt vestem et signa incinuerunt paludatus dicitur proficisci, Varro, l. l. 7. 37.

cons. spretorum (sc. *Deorum a. hom.*). The reading of Gronovius for *conscientias prætorum* of MSS.

votorum nunc. One of the first ceremonies on the day of taking office (*die initi mag.*) was to go to the Capitol with kinsmen and friends, to sit upon the curule chair, and thank Jupiter *opt. max.* for the mercies of the past year, offering the victims promised by the out-going consuls, and vowing others for the year to follow (*vot. nuncupatio*). They then presided over a meeting of the senate on the Capitol, treating chiefly *de solemni religione.* Polyb. says nothing of this conduct of Flaminius, nor does Appian. It reads like an afterthought, coloured by patrician prejudices, to account for the disaster which followed.

§ 9. **clam furtim.** A pleonasm, like *forte temere,* and other repetitions used by Livy.

P. 71. **exilii causa.** Our word '*exile*' calls up different associations. At Rome a citizen could give up the rights and duties of citizenship and take up his residence in an allied community which had the relation of *ἰσοπολιτεία* with Rome, like the Latin states. This privilege, called *exilium,* might be used even during prosecution for political offences, and the accused might thus anticipate the issue of his trial.

§ 10. **Romæ mag. init.** Though irregular, this was not invalid. Augustus, careful as he was of constitutional forms, did not observe the rule. Sueton. 26, *nec omnes* (*consulatus*) *Romæ sed quartum consulatum in Asia, quintum insula Samo, octavum et nonum Tarracone iniit.*

§ 12. **nihilo magis...** The constitution gave the senate no power to dictate to the consuls, though the executive officials rarely ventured to set at nought the authority of so august a body. Flaminius was anticipating the policy of the Gracchi in trying to humble the senate, and depend on popular support.

moverunt...moverant. The Latin ear seems to have liked such repetitions of the same word, as they frequently occur.

§ 13. **immolanti ei, &c.** A frequent omen of ill-luck. Cf. a like case of J. Cæsar, Sueton. 59, *licet immolanti aufugisset hostia profectionem...non distulerit.*

§ 14. **in omen acc.** For the use of the preposition, cf. Cic. ad Att. xv. 11, *beneficium accepisse in contumeliam.*

§ 15. **a Sempronio.** He had wintered at Luca, c. 59. The legions had probably remained at Placentia, and were then in obedience to the edict, § 1, marched to Ariminum, to be immediately led through a little frequented pass of the Apennines (*tramites*) into Etruria. Had they been with Sempronius at Luca, it would have been a strangely roundabout course. But the whole is confused. Livy seems to have forgotten that Sempronius was not at Placentia.

C. Atilius was at Tannetum, 26. 2, and at Rome, 62. 10. He may have gone to the Po to take command of Scipio's legions. Appian, I. 8. 3, represents Servilius in command on the Po.

exercitus is not the proper subject to which the abl. abs. *acceptis* refers. Probably the sentence points to a close, like *exercitum ducere cœpit.*

BOOK XXII.

c. I. § 2. **pro eo, ut...** A clumsy equivalent for the Greek ἀντὶ τοῦ...φέρειν. Fabri compares VIII. 14. 2, *cum eo, ut ædes ...lucusque...communis esset*, IV. 56. 1, *in eo ut*, &c.

raperent agerentque. A common phrase for 'plundering,' to include furniture and cattle, otherwise expressed by *ferre agere*, *portare agere*, Greek φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν. Hence used metaphorically III. 37. 6, *ferre agere plebem plebisque res.*

§ 3. **ipsorum inter se.** 'Was saved by their mutual treachery, as they disclosed their conspiracy, &c.' On this use of *inter se*, cf. XXI. 39. 9, *auxerant inter se opinionem.*

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§ 9. **tantum, quod.** 'Furnished a bare resting-place for those who sought only some dry spot above the water.'

§ 10. **primum.** The apodosis comes in *et quia.*

§ 11. **alt. oculo.**

O qualis facies et quali digna tabella | quum Gætula ducem portaret bellua luscum. Juv. x. 157.

c. III. § 1. **circa Arretii mœnia.** This position was excellently chosen to watch the movements of Hannibal whose easiest road to Rome lay through Umbria by the Via Flaminia, which had been made a few years before by C. Flaminius. If communications were kept up between the two consuls at Arretium and Ariminum they might hope to combine the forces when the route of the invaders was discovered. Precisely the same arrangements had been made to cover Rome in the Gallic war of 225 B.C. But like the Gauls, H. took a Western pass, and marched by the Roman forces at Arretium, which then followed in pursuit, and were routed before the other army could arrive upon the scene.

§ 2. **in rem.** 'To his purpose.' Cf. 29. 8.

§ 3. **inter.** Fabri remarks that it is in Tacitus that we find most examples of this position of *inter* between its two cases.

§ 4. **non modo legum...** Livy reproduces here without misgiving the patrician prejudices of his authorities, and Polyb., alien as he was, does the same, enlarging upon the duty of the general to ascertain the bias of his rival, as H. did in this case.

P. 76. **metuens** has the constr. of an adj. not of a partic. So *metuens futuri*, Hor., *metuens virgæ*, Juv.

§ 6. **læva** is here inexplicable. If H. moved towards Fæsulæ, he must have had the R. at Arretium on his right. Hence it would be better to read *a Fæsulis petens medios Etr. agros* (W.). But it is quite possible that it was a blunder of Livy himself, and not of his editors. Hannibal was moving southwards, and swept round the Trasimene lake to entrap Flaminius, who was marching after him.

§ 7. **Flaminius, qui...** It is hazardous to impute misstatements to ancient writers in cases where we have no other evidence at hand, but it seems most probable that this part of the history is disfigured by the aristocratic prejudices of the Annalists who threw the blame of the disaster of Lake Trasimene on the rashness of Flaminius. Yet he must have heard some days before of the march of Hannibal, and sent

news to his colleague who was hurrying up to bar the way to Rome. Had he wished to force a battle sooner, he could certainly have done so in the valley of the Arno. When H. marched towards Rome, he could hardly fail to follow, as the course of Servilius naturally lay through Umbria, and he was not strong enough to face the invader single-handed on the Flaminian way. The distance between Arretium and the Lake Trasimene is not great, and Flaminius may perhaps have moved first towards Clusium to strengthen the defences on the Via Cassia, and then pushed eastward in the track of H., to keep his communications open with his colleague. He naturally hoped to effect a speedy junction, and to crush H. with their united forces, as the Gauls had been in like case defeated a few years before at Telamon. No fault in strategy can be proved up to the eve of the battle, when he allowed himself to be ensnared. Cf. Append. on the Character of Flaminius.

§ 8. **ceteris.** The officers of the staff assembled in the council of war.

§ 9. **signum.** This was given with the *tuba* for the march.

pugnaeque only implies that the signal to march was taken as a determination to fight. The actual sign in the latter case was a red flag on the *prætorium.*

§ 10. **Camillum ab Veiis.** Cf. v. 46. Rome was then in the hands of the Gauls.

§ 11. **effudit.** 'Threw.' So x. 11. 1, *equo effusus.*

§ 12. **signum** is the general term, including the *vexillum,* or small flag with a cross pole, as well as the image or *insigne* carried on a staff.

P. 77, § 13. **Num litteras q.** Referring not only to the *legatio* of XXI. 63. 12, but to the experience of his former consulship.

§ 14. **primoribus.** An unusual term for officers. Here probably it refers more to civil than military eminence.

in vulgus. 'Commonly.'

c. IV. § 1. **Trasumennus.** Connected by Corssen I. 246 with *trans, terminus, τέρμων,* as 'that on the other side.' Polyb. calls it Ταρσιμένη λίμνη, and it is often spelt *Trasumenus,* as we read *Porsena* and *Porsenna.* The Etruscan names *Vibenna, Sisenna,* &c., support the double *n* of the best MSS., and Quintilian Inst. I. 5. 13 says *Tharsomenum pro Trasumenno multi auctores...vindicaverunt.*

§ 2. **nata insidiis.** Cf. 44. 4, *locis natis ad equestrem pugnam*, IX. 2. 5, *ita natus locus est.*

maxime subit. 'Comes very close under.'

Via perangusta. The road from Cortona to Perugia, as it passes through the Northern side of the Trasimene lake, rises at the Western end over M. Gualandro, and then enters a pass from ½ to 1½ miles in breadth, bounded by mountains on the North, and the sea on the South, till it emerges after some miles at Passignano. About half way, the mountain ground presses forward to the lake, where the village at Tuoro stands (*inde colles insurgunt*), and here was the camp of Hannibal. Polybius, III. 83, describes the scene more fully than Livy, but his account corresponds to the position of the Roman vanguard as it faced the enemy posted in front at Tuoro on κατὰ τὴν ἀντικρὺ λόφον ἐπικείμενον ἐρυμνὸν καὶ δύσβατον, and had the lake in its rear, while there was a continuous range of hills on either side, παρὰ τὰς εἰς μῆκος πλευράς, like the two halves of a crescent divided in the middle by the projecting headland. Probably both historians consulted the same authority, which was based on the account of an eye-witness contemplating from a Roman point of view the central position of Hannibal, and seeing his cavalry charging on the left on the rearguard, and forcing the whole column forward into the pass.

industria. From *indo*, old form of *in*, and *struere*, so connected with *instruere*. Corssen, II. 190.

§ 4. **pridie.** Seems a pleonasm with *postero die* in the next line.

inexplorato. Notice the many abl. constr. in this passage. They are especially frequent in Livy.

pandi. 'Deploy.'

deceptae ins. 'The trap was closed,' so the MSS. read. But there is no authority for this use of the word, nor is there much for the suggestion of Lipsius, *decepere*, for *decipere* is not = λανθάνειν, to escape notice, though we may quote Hor. Sat. I. 3. 39, *amatorem quod amicae* | *turpia decipiunt caecum vitia.* Madvig suggests *acceptae*, but does not venture to change the text. We may note here again, as XXI. 62. 5, the want in Latin of article, and partic. of subst. verb to connect *ab tergo* (*ai...οὖσαι*) with *insidiae*.

§ 5. **clausum habuit.** Cf. XXI. 5. 3, *fessum habebat*, &c.

P. 78, § 6. **conspecta.** 'Visible.' The past partic. for a gerundive or verbal adj. Cf. II. 55. 3, *nihil contemtius lictoribus, si sint qui contemnant.* Sall. Jug. 76. 1, *rex nihil iam*

infectum Metello credens. Livy XXIX. 18. 8, *sacrilegas admovere manus intactis illis thesauris.* So *inaccessus*, *incorruptus*, &c., Nägelsbach 72. *b.*

c. V. § 1. **satis, ut.** A somewhat grudging recognition of the bravery of Flaminius.

in re trepida. 'A state of panic.' Cf. I. 27. 10, *Tullus in re trepida duodecim vovit Salios.*

§ 4. **strepentium pav.** This use of the gen. plur. of the partic., where we should put abstract substantives 'triumph and panic,' is of frequent occurrence in Livy. Cf. 17. 5, *flammas spirantum miraculo*, XXIII. 22. 7, *fremitus indignantium.* Nägelsbach § 29. 2.

§ 6. **impetum capere** is a frequent phrase in Livy. Cf. II. 65. 8, VIII. 30. 4.

P. 79, § 7. **per principes.** In the old form of organizing the legion the *hastati* formed the 1st line, the *principes* the 2nd, as Livy describes at length, VIII. 8. The order is here confused, as Livy is here writing probably from memory, without documents, of a state of things which had passed away.

antesignani. Men of the front line, whose *signa manipulorum* were carried in the rear in battle, though in the van when on the march. Thus Livy VIII. 11. 4, *stragem et ante signa et post signa factam.*

cohorte. This is an unusual expression. After the time of Marius probably the old formation of the legion was superseded by that into 10 cohorts, but at this time the term was only employed of the *prætoria cohors*, or body-guard of the general, and of the contingents of the allies. It is probably used by Livy carelessly.

§ 8. **motum terræ.** The authority of Cælius is specially referred to for this by Cicero, div. I. 35, and it was probably from him that Livy copied it.

c. VI. § 2. **Eum et** seems to require another sentence of like form to follow, but the constr. suddenly changes.

robora vir. Cf. XXI. 54. 3.

§ 3. **noscitans.** One of the frequentatives often used by our author, though in this case seemingly less appropriate.

legiones. Livy commonly applies to other people the distinctive terms of the Roman civil and military systems. For the facts of the war referred to cf. Polyb. II. 32, and note on Livy XXI. 62. 2.

§ 4. **infesto venienti.** These words are perhaps introduced, as Nägelsbach suggests, to avoid the dative form *impetui* which is scarcely to be found in use.

triarii. The 3rd line of the legion consisting of the stoutest veterans. Cf. Livy's explanation of *res ad triarios redit*, viii. 8. 11.

P. 80, § 7. **immensa ac s.** 'Objectless and hopeless.'

§ 8. **eruptione i. f.** The further end of the pass was only beset by the slingers and light-armed troops, 4. 3, and it was here easier for the head of the column to break out.

caligine. Connected with *callim* (the old form of *clam.* Festus) *καλύπτω*, *supercilium*, *celare*, *occulto*, from root *kal* 'cover.' Corssen i. 460.

§ 9. **Inclinata d. r.** 'When the battle was decided.'

§ 11. **cetera extrema.** Cf. *confragosa omnia*, xxi. 32. 9.

§ 12. **Punica relig.** Cf. xxi. 4. 9. H. decided that Maharbal had no authority to grant such terms, as the Romans had done in the case of Lutatius. Polyb. iii. 85.

omnes. Polyb. tells us that the Italian allies were treated with marked courtesy, in the hope that they would revolt from Rome. Cf. 7. 5.

c. vii. § 1. **memorata.** Probably in the sense of *memorabilis*, as xxiii. 44. 4, *pugnæ memorabilis inter paucas*, i. e. 'memorable as few have been.' Cf. note on 4. 6.

§ 2. **Quindecim millia...** The local names of Ossaia (*ossa*) and Sanguinetto have been thought to point to traditions of this slaughter, but they are most likely of later origin, and if derived from incidents of battle, date from the middle ages.

§ 3. **Multiplex.** 'Many times as large.' So often in Livy.

§ 4. **auctum ex vano.** 'Idle exaggeration.' The suggestion of Madvig makes better sense than the reading of the MSS. *haustum ex v.*, which is not a natural expression, nor applicable to the evidence of earlier writers. For *ex vano* cf. xxvii. 26. 1, *nec spem nec metum ex vano habet.* So xxi. 32. 10, *ex aperto*, v. 33. 8, *ex antiquo*, i. 43. 10, *ex publico*.

Fabium. See Introduction on the Authorities of the 2nd P. war. Livy need not have consulted Fabius at first hand.

P. 81, § 7. **repens** qualifies *allata*, as in 8. 1 it does *nuntiatur*. Cf. 12. 7, *occultus subsistebat*.

frequentis contionis. 'A crowded assembly,' such as could be convened only by a magistrate who had the *jus agere cum populo*.

comitium et c. i. e. they flocked to the Curia Hostilia where the senate was deliberating, calling for a magistrate to come out to address them from the *comitium*, where the higher officials usually harangued them.

M. Pomponius was *Prætor peregrinus*, for M. Æmilius was *Prætor Urb.* Cf. 33. 8. It is strange that the latter did not come forward as he was present. Cf. § 14.

§ 10. **Quot casus.** i. e. the alternatives just referred to.

P. 82, c. viii. § 1. **quattuor millia eq.** Polyb. iii. 86 describes more fully the despatch of the cavalry under Centenius, while Servilius was on the march with the legions. H. hearing of their approach sent Maharbal to attack them, and he first routed the body, and then after a hot pursuit captured the survivors. Probably the horses were exhausted by the forced march, and the light troops of the enemy had cut off their retreat by moving along the cross roads. Appian speaks of the disaster as happening εἰς τὴν Πλειστίνην λίμνην, which like some others in Italy has since wholly disappeared, but several traces of the name, such as Val di Pistia, may be found in the pass from Camerino to Ancona, and an old inscription testifies to a town called Plestia. Cf. Nissen in Rhein. Mus. 1865, p. 224. The large force under Centenius points to an increase of the cavalry, probably to compete with that of Hannibal.

C. Centenio propraetore. The full title was *legatus proprætore*, for the delegate of a consul was not called *pro consule* but *p. p.* Appian speaks of him as τινὰ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἰδιωτῶν, and as sent from Rome.

in Umbria. i. e. on their way from Ariminum, where Servilius had been watching the Gauls.

§ 3. **causa.** For this sense of 'malady' Fabri compares xxx. 44. 6, *prævalida corpora ab externis causis tuta videntur*.

magis...gravior. The repetition of the comparative is a pleonasm to be accounted for by the balance of *levis* and *gravior*, as well as *affecto* and *valido*.

§ 4. **extenuatis.** A substantive, like 'exhaustion,' is implied in this word to balance *magnitudine.* Cf. XXI. 1. 5, *Sicilia S. amissa.*

§ 5. **ad remedium.** Cf. note on 9. 7.

dictatorem dic. The *dictator* was appointed probably at first in times of urgent danger, when a general-in-chief was needed who would not be controlled by the rivalry of a colleague, or the veto of a tribune. To this we may refer the limit of the six months' tenure of office, the early name of *magister populi,* or leader of the army (cf. Herzog, *populari,*) with the subordinate *magister equitum,* and the fact that the appointment in times of civil struggle was regarded as a proclamation of state of siege, or martial law, though in later days dictators, no longer *optimo jure,* were subject to the veto of the tribune. The *comitia* had commonly no power of election; the senate by virtue of their general authority commonly decided on the step, but the appointment (*dicere*) formally rested with a consul, who by lot or arrangement with his colleague rose at the dead of night, within the boundaries of Roman *ager,* and named the temporary head of the executive. The latter name was probably, as Mommsen thinks, borrowed by analogy from the dictators of the Latin towns, who had succeeded to the position of the King.

nec dict. populo (non consulto senatus). The Puteanus has *populo* only, other MSS. *populus.* An early critic changed this to *prætor,* as inconsistent with what immediately follows. Madvig prefers to think that words have dropped out as in other places in this book, but the correction seems a bold one. There can be little doubt however that he is right in rejecting *prodictatorem,* which some editors read on the ground that Livy adopts the view that Fabius was only *prodict.* (31. 8), for (1) the form *prodictatore* would have been used, as the phrase was too uncommon to become a substantive like *proconsul,* (2) the later passage looks like an after-thought of criticism, quite consistent with a different view in this passage. It is probable that a *prætor* must have presided at the *Comitia,* and declared the dictator elected, and J. Cæsar acted on this precedent in B.C. 48, though it was regarded as irregular. Cf. Cic. ad. Att. 9. 15. 3, *volet consules roget prætor vel dictatorem dicat, quorum neutrum jus est, sed si Sulla potuit efficere ab interrege ut dictator diceretur, cur hic non possit.* Mommsen arbitrarily decides to strike this clause out of the text. Cf. C. I. L. I. p. 288.

§ 6. **quod numquam...** Refers to the clause that follows.

Q. Fabium Maximum. Polyb. III. 87 says that descendants of his house still bore the cognomen διὰ τὰς ἐκείνου τἀνδρὸς ἐπι-

τυχίας καὶ πράξεις. But Perizonius suggested that this may only have meant that a later age connected the epithet with this Fabius, though it had been borne by his ancestors, as Polybius must have known. Livy IX. 46. 7 accounts for the origin of the name by the statesmanship of one who *quod tot victoriis non pepererat, hac ordinum temperatione pareret.*

The *Magister equitum* was subordinate, both as magistrate and officer, to the dictator, who commonly appointed him, without any formal restriction on his choice. The office was anomalous, as there was no single commander of the cavalry, but a variety of *præfecti*, and in historical days the *magister equitum* served at the head of the legions under the dictator, or replaced him in his absence. But the name probably points to the early days when the two consuls led the foot and horse alternately, and the chief change in appointing a *magister populi* was to make him tower above the colleague whom he himself nominated.

P. 83, § 7. **dimicandum esse.** The infin. expresses the conviction which was the ground of the preceding measures.

c. IX. § 1. **Spoletium.** A Latin colony (B.C. 241, Vell. Paterc. I. 14) covering the Via Flaminia and Umbria, to which H. turned from the Trasimene lake. He is not likely to have thought of an attack on Rome itself, the population of which largely outnumbered his army, and Polybius says nothing of the attack upon Spoletium.

§ 2. **cum magna cæde repulsus.** One of the gates of Spoleto still bears the name of Porta di Annibale, or Porta Fuga, in memory of this gallant resistance, and on it are the words *Annibal Spoleto | Magna suorum cæde repulsus | insigni fuga portæ nomen fecit.* These are of modern date, but in the Guildhall is a mutilated inscription, of which the following words remain. *Populus signa vovit......toribusque dedicavit ......quum Annibal L. Carsulio...*

haud maximæ minime p. Most editors read *haud nimis prospere*, for the *h. minime p.* of the MSS. Madvig rejects this as a frigid litotes, and suggests that *maximæ* had dropped out, after which *minime prospere* will follow well enough.

moles. Referring not merely to the size of the city, but to the effort of taking it. Cf. XXI. 22. 9.

§ 4. **affectus.** Cf. 8. 3, *affecto corpore*, and XXI. 11. 13.

§ 5. **Prætutianum ffa.** South of Picenum, and near the Roman colony of Adria, from which the Porto d' Atri takes its name. It is said that *Prætutia* was corrupted in the middle

ages into Aprutium, and that into Abruzzo, the later name of the district. (Cramer's Anc. It. I. 289.) The Marsi, and other tribes mentioned, dwelt further South, and to the East of the Sabine territory; they belonged to the Osco-Sabellian population of Central Italy.

Arpi, in Apulia, was anciently named Argyripa, and connected with traditions of Diomede and Argos, Verg. Æn. XI. 243. Twelve miles to the W. was the R. colony of Luceria (B.C. 313), which was long an object of contention with the Samnites.

§ 6. **ad urbem...** This march was probably begun as soon as he heard of H. in Etruria, and the 4000 horse under Centenius was only the van of his army, but Livy had neglected to mention this at the right point of his narrative.

§ 7. **dictator iterum.** Valerius Max., 1. 1, says that Flaminius was his *mag. equitum*, and this must refer to a former dictatorship. There had been several dictators of late years *comitiorum habendorum causa.* The words of Livy, 8. 5, refer only to the dictator of earlier usage *rei gerendæ causa.*

ab diis orsus. Matters of religion were the first discussed in the senate. Cf. Gell. XIV. 7, *de rebus divinis prius quam humanis ad senatum referendum esse.*

cærimonia is hardly to be derived from *Cære* ("the Delphi of Italy"). Corssen I. 376 refers it to the root of *sincerus* (*skir*=sunder, or choose). The long æ is a difficulty in the way of Curtius' derivation from *-kar, kri, creare,* and the inscriptions and best MSS. spell it *cæremonia.* For the termination, cf. *parsimonia, sanctimonia, ægrimonia,* and the *men* of *specimen,* or *mentum* of *documentum.* II. 315.

inscitia. 'Bad generalship.'

piacula. Cf. Excursus on Roman Religion.

§ 8. **libros Sibyll.** The Sibylline literature was brought to Rome, according to tradition, as early as the period of the Tarquins, and seems to have come from the Greek towns of Asia Minor through their connections in Campania at the time when Hellenic art first made its way to Rome to any great extent. As an early seat of this Sibylline influence was at Gergis in the Troad, we may thus account for the early spread of the legends which connected the Trojan story with the tradition of the foundation of Rome.

§ 11. For derivation of *pontifex* cf. note on 59. 3.

c. x. Livy seldom gives any specimens of antique style except in the formularies kept in the custody of the priestly

colleges. This is almost the only form of monumental evidence which he cared to consult, or at any rate to copy. For the meaning of the *ver sacrum* and other terms, see the Excursus.

§ 2. **duellis.** An archaic form for *bellis* retained in *perduellis*, as *bes* stands for *dues*, and *bonus* for *duonus*. The *Latum donum* of the MSS. would be an awkward pleonasm, and is well corrected by Madvig to *tum duit* the old subj. Cf. x. 19. 12 the prayer *si hodie victoriam duis*. Cf. also *adduit*, *venum duit*, from root *du*, another form of *-da*, like the forms, *creduis*, *creduit* in Plautus. Corssen, II. 402. The transposition of *quod duellum*, to make it follow immediately *hisce duellis* is due to Lipsius, and makes good sense of what is hopelessly involved in the common reading of the MSS. retained by W.

§ 3. **ver.** Reckoned by the pontifices as lasting through the months of March and April.

profana. *Fanum* or (*fasnum* fr. *fas*) is the general term for any holy thing or place, and *profanum* is the contrasted term.

fieri. 'To be sacrificed to.'

ex qua die. The vow though made was not to take effect until the time was specified, and this did not actually take place till the year 195 B.C.

§ 4. **probe.** 'Duly.'

§ 5. **rumpet.** Cf. Digest. IX. 2. 27, *rupisse verbum fere omnes veteres sic intellexerunt, corruperit.* Stroth. ap. Fabri.

ne fraus esto. 'The owner shall not be guilty.'

clepsit. An old perf. subj. from *clepo* as *faxit* from *facio*.

§ 6. **Si atro die f.** The *atri dies* were those associated in memory with some great national disaster as that at Allia or on the Cremera or at Cannæ. On them temples were all closed and no sacrifices could be offered, and land and business were at a standstill. Yet even here the pontiffs claimed dispensing power, and when Ti. Coruncanius fixed by an oversight a holiday upon a *dies ater*, the College ratified his act, *collegium decrevit non habendum religioni quin eo die feriæ essent* (A. Gell. IV. 6. 10).

faxit. The characteristic vowel is dropped frequently in the perf. subj. and II. fut. ind. of this word, especially in Plautus, Terence, and occasionally in later poets as Verg. Æn. IX. 151, XII. 316. In Livy we find in old formularies *defexit* I.

24. 9, *faxitis* VI. 41. 6; so *occisit* XII. tab., *rapsit* Cic. Leg. II. 9. 22, *vixet*, for conj. plusqu., Verg. Æn. XI. 118, *extinxem* Æn. IV. 606, *confluxet* Lucr. I. 987, *surrexe* Hor. Sat. I. 9. 73, *traxe* Æn. V. 786. So also such forms as *acclarassis* Liv. I. 18. 7, *habessit* Cic. Leg. II. 8. 19, and many like forms in Plautus. It seems probable that conj. and II. fut. forms like *faxim*, *faxo* are derived from an old perfect form in *-si* rather than from a reduplicated form in *-i*.

faxitur is a still more curious form of 2nd. fut. passive for *factum erit*, like *jussitur* for *jussum erit* Cato R. R. 14, *turbassitur* for *turbatus erit* Cic. Leg III. 4. 11, *mercassitur* for *mercatus erit* Lex Agrar. C. 200. 71. Cf. Corssen, II. 565.

antidea, an old form for *antea*, like *postidea* for *postea*, *antid* being the early form of *ante*. Cf. the ablative forms *marid*, *navalid*, *dictatored*, &c. found in early inscriptions, as also *med*, *ted*, *sed*, *red*, found singly or in composition.

P. 85, § 7. **ludi magni**. This term was afterwards reserved for the extraordinary *ludi* in distinction to the regular which were called *ludi Romani*. The sums were voted by the senate, but as they were often inadequate, great expense was constantly incurred by the *ædiles* on whom the arrangements fell, and at the end of the Republic the outlay was often ruinous.

æris. This was probably the *æs grave* or *libral as*, which had been successively reduced in weight to that of a *triens* in the 1st Punic war, and to the *uncia* in this year (*Q. Fabio dictatore asses unciales facti*, Pliny 33. 3. 45), but in laws and state concerns the old monetary system was for a long time retained, and the *nummus sestertius* was employed as its equivalent in silver. Cf. Mommsen Münzw. 292 and Weissenborn's note.

trecentis t. It was a Roman fancy that the odd numbers found favour with the gods of the upper air, while the Manes or the powers of the lower world liked the even best. Thus the fixed holidays, *feriæ stativæ*, were nearly all on the odd days of the Calendar.

§ 10. **Veneri Erycinæ**. This deity was probably the Phœnician Astarte, whose worship may be traced (under the name of Aphrodite) in many places where an earlier influence was adopted by the Greeks. Eryx, as we know, was one of the points of Sicily to which the Carthaginians clung most obstinately. Its traditions were in course of time worked into the legends of the Trojan war, its deity confused with the goddess mother of Æneas, whose wanderings are made

by Vergil to include a visit to the spot, v. 759, and Rome recognised an appeal based on this supposed connection.

fatalibus. Prophetic of doom (fatum), i.e. Sibylline.

Menti. Fabri quotes Cic. Leg. 11. 8, *colunto et ollos, quos endo cælo merita locaverunt...ast olla propter quæ datur homini adscensus in cælum, Mentem, Virtutem, Pietatem, Fidem.* Cf. Excursus.

c. xi. § 2. **e re publica.** 'For the interest of the state.'

§ 3. **Iis** the dat. after *edixit* which also takes the acc. *diem* of the obj. *Tibur* is the local acc. after *ad conveniendum edicere.* Cf. 22. 1, *quo diem ad conveniendum edixerat novis militibus* and xxviii. 5. 8, *concilium Ætolis Heracleam indictum.*

§ 4. **ut...uti.** This repetition of *ut* when the conjunction does not follow closely on the principal verb is of frequent occurrence in Livy. Cf. v. 21. 9.

castella. Any streng places in the country, such as there are traces of on so many of the hill-tops in Central Italy. Cf. the enumeration in the Lex Rubria xxi. *quo oppido municipio colonia præfectura foro vico conciliabulo castello territoriove.*

P. 86, § 5. The Via Flaminia, which led through Etruria and Umbria to Ariminum, is attributed by Strabo, v. 1. 1, to the Flaminius who was consul B.C. 197, but by Livy, Epit. xx., to his father who fell at Lake Trasimene, while the son constructed the road from Ariminum to Bononia (xxxix. 4).

exercitu. Cf. for this form of the dat. *dilectu,* 2. 1.

Ocriculum. The first city of Umbria which submitted to Rome, Livy ix. 41. 14.

viator was a general term for the attendant or apparitor of a Roman magistrate, and the form of the word probably referred to the duty of travelling through the *ager* round Rome to summon the senators or others to public meetings. The *lictor* was a more specialized name *is qui ex collegio viatorum officium ligandi haberet lictor sit appellandus,* Aul. Gell. 12. 13. 1. Only dictators, consuls, and prætors commonly were thus attended, and the *fasces* borne by these lictors was a symbol of the *jus vitæ necisque.*

§ 6. **vetustate.** Cf. 8. 5. It was 32 years since there had been a *dict. rei gerendæ.*

Ostia. Otherwise declined in the 2nd decl. Cf. 37. 1 and *mitte Ostia Cæsar,* Juv. viii. 171.

p. Cosanum. Now the porto d' Ercole. It was a Roman colony, and one of the chief naval stations on the lower sea.

§ 7. **ad urbem R.** Probably as W. suggests in the dockyards or in course of building.

§ 8. **libertini.** The slaves of a Roman, when freed, were called his *liberti*, and passed into the class of *libertini*. These were by Q. Fabius in 303 B.C. all enrolled in the 4 *urbanæ tribus*, where their votes counted for little, but in later days repeated efforts were made by the popular leaders to spread them over the *rusticæ tribus* where they might own land. They could not serve regularly in the legions, for military service was regarded at Rome as the privilege and duty of the free landowners, and it was not until the time of Marius that this sentiment disappeared.

quibus liberi. This condition recurs in other cases, as in the privilege allowed to Latini to migrate to Rome and become R. citizens if they left children behind them, and in usages of precedence among magistrates.

aetas militaris. i.e. commonly from the 17th to the 46th year of age.

§ 9. **urbano ex.** Referring to the lower estimate of the *urbanæ tribus* who formed what was called contemptuously *forensis factio*.

c. xii. § 1. **quo diem.** Nearly all the MSS. read *quodie*, a mistake which probably grew out of a failure to see that *quo* follows *conveniendum*, as *Tibur* does in 11. 4.

§ 2. **Præneste** is explained by Corssen ii. 216, as being an old superlative form, as *magister* or *minister* are comparatives like λαλίστερος, thus *Præneste* = 'that which stands forth most prominently,' for *præ* cf. note below on *pristinus*. Festus says it was so named *quia montibus præstat,* and in fact it commands a splendid view of the neighbourhood of Rome.

transversis lim. 'Cross-roads,' as in ii. 39 *transversis tramitibus* and v. 16. 4 *obliquis tramitibus* in the same sense. It would seem as if *trames* (*trans. meare*) were nearly the same as *transversus*, while *limes* (for *lic-mes*, connected with *limus*, λέχριος, *limen*, a cross-beam for *lintel*) comes from the same root as *obliquus*. Corssen, i. 499.

egressus. W. aptly remarks that the *viæ* were raised as causeways higher than the cross-roads.

exploratis. Corssen connects *plorare* with *pluere pluvia* as 'to make to flow' and hence *explorare* 'to cause to flow out' or 'bring to light,' i. 361.

P. 87, § 4. *quos* appears in most MSS., but it is obviously corrupt, W. suggests *aliquando*, Heerwagen *antiquos*. It seems better to strike it out.

§ 6. **novi.** This suggestion of Madvig for *non vim* commends itself as a very slight change with much better sense.

hauddum. *Vocabulum hauddum non apud alium inveni scriptorem nisi aliquoties apud Livium,* i. e. *septem locis.* Stürenberg ap. Fabri. It is formed like *vixdum, necdum* also found in our author.

§ 7. **si posset.** 'In the hope that he might,' 'to see if he would,' a sense in which Livy often uses *si.*

excipere. As of the hunter *latitantem fruticeto excipere aprum,* Hor. Carm. III. 12. 11.

§ 9. **statio.** 'pickets.'

universo. 'Staked upon the hazard of a general engagement.' Cf. *casum universæ dimicationis* 32. 2.

§ 10. **parva momenta...**'petty skirmishes of little moment which might be safely risked as there was shelter near at hand.'

pristinis. This word like *priscus* comes from a longer form of the *pri* or *præ* whence *primus, privus,* &c. Corssen, I. 780.

§ 11. **Sed non H....**the subordinate phrase *sanis consiliis* would as Nägelsbach suggests be naturally the subject in translation, 'his sound judgment found an adversary,' &c.

nihil...moræ. Cf. for this idiom XXI. 45. 9.

P. 88, § 12. **pro cunctatore.** Cf. 39. 20.

premendo. Cf. 59. 10, *nec premendo alium me extulisse velim.*

pessima ars. 'pernicious practice.'

c. XIII. § 1. The *Hirpini* (called Ἰρπῖνοι in Strabo, though some Latin inscriptions and MSS. drop the aspirate) were a highland race in the east of Samnium, whose name was said to be derived from the Samnite word *hirpus*=wolf, Serv. Verg. Æn. XI. 785. Several of their towns revolted from Rome after the battle of Cannæ, Liv. XXIII. 1, and 37, and owing to the obstinate wars of the Samnites in old times Hannibal may have looked here for most support.

Beneventum. The old form of this was *Maleventum* Liv. IX. 27. 7, and the change was probably due to the superstitious feeling which may be traced in the history of names like the Eumenides, the Euxine, and εὐφρόνη for night. Compare also the custom of the Romans to call first a citizen of auspicious name in the centuries and tribes.

Telesiam. This was a little north of Beneventum and should probably be read in Pol. iii. 90 instead of Venusia, which was quite off the line of march.

§ 3. **res mai. q. a.** Note the compression of this phrase 'the enterprise was greater than its authors,' i. e. 'too critical to be undertaken on their authority alone:' it qualifies *dubium*.

§ 4. **etiam atque etiam.** Connected by Madvig with *monitos*, though the MSS. put the *ut* between. It is possible however to take them with *promissa* elliptically. Lucretius uses the phrase still more independently as i. 296 *Quare etiam atque etiam sunt venti corpora cæca.*

aliquibus. Fabri remarks that *aliquis* is the more usual form of the abl. in Livy, though this form is here well attested.

§ 5. **Agrum Casinatem.** This is the point at which the *via Latina* issued from Latium into Campania, and the old name remains in the famous Benedictine cloister of the Monte Cassino. As the Appian Way was open to the Romans with the other roads Hannibal could not have barred their way to Capua except by forcing a battle.

§ 6. **abhorrens.** Cf. xxi. 32. 10.

Casilinum was on the Volturnus not far from Capua, and the Campus Stellatis lay along the right bank of the river to the sea. It was one of the last districts of the *ager publicus* to be divided.

Polyb. says nothing of this mistake of the guide, but makes H. move towards Campania in the hope of plunder in the rich Falernian plain, and of revolt among the towns; and there could be little meaning in a movement towards Casinum, if the plain of Capua was the real object of the march.

Corssen ii. 355 connects both Casinum and Casilinum with *casa*, *casula* as originally 'a place of huts' like the German termination *-hausen* as in Frankhausen.

§ 7. **montibus.** The Callicula and Massicus.

fluminibus. The Savo and Volturnus.

§ 8. **mansurum.** 'rest,' 'pass the night.' Cf. Hor. Carm. i. 1. 25, *manet sub Jove frigido | venator*, so also *mansiones* were 'night quarters' for travellers or soldiers, before they became 'mansions' in our sense.

P. 89, § 9. The *ager Falernus*, which was famous for the best wine in Italy, lay to the North of the *Campus Stellatis*, between Sinuessa and Casilinum.

§ 10. **aquas Sin.** now called *Bagni.* Cf. Tac. Ann. XII. 66, *refovendis viribus mollitia cæli et salubritate aquarum Sinuessam pergit.*

§ 11. **iusto et mod.** The grievances which led to the outbreak of the Social War were hardly felt as yet, and the statement of the text is fairly justified.

c. XIV. § 1. **prope** seems to qualify, not *seditio* as Fabri thinks, but *de integro,* as explained by *quieverant* which follows.

§ 2. **celerius s.** The real object was to hold the passes into Latium, and so to enclose Hannibal.

§ 4. **colonos.** Sent in 297 B.C. when the Greek Sinope was changed to Sinuessa. Livy x. 21. 4.

§ 6. **pro.** This interjection is more frequently used with a vocative or accus., as *pro sancte Jupiter, pro deum fidem, &c.,* but at times as here absolutely.

Punicas, &c. It was a popular fancy in later days that the Carthaginians were bound by treaty not to sail along Italy, and the Romans were also shut out from Sicily. Pol. III. 26 disproves these errors by the terms of the old treaties.

P. 90. **videamus.** 'Look on calmly.' For this use Fabri compares VI. 14. 3, *si civem...in vincula...duci videam.*

§ 7. **lenti.** Cf. Hor. S. I. 9. 64, *vellere cœpi | et pressare manu lentissima brachia.*

§ 8. **aestivos s.** It was a regular custom to send the cattle from the lowlands to the highlands in the heat of summer; the early agrarian laws recognised this by leaving a wide margin along the highways for their transit and pasturage.

§ 9. **M. Furius,** sc. *Camillus.* As to the details cf. Livy v. 48, as also for the *busta Gallica* below.

§ 12. **Furculas C.** The valley, probably that of Arpaia, in which the Romans advancing from Calatia were surrounded by the Samnites under C. Pontius and forced to ignominious submission. Livy IX. 5.

perlustrando. *Lustrare,* from the processional ceremonies of the *lustrum,* akin to the 'beating the bounds' of modern usage. *Lustrum* is the purifying offering from the root *lu, lav,* whence *luere, illuvies, Lautulæ,* and the like. Corssen I. 361.

§ 13. **Modo.** A stronger word than *nuper.* Heerwagen compares Cic. Verr. IV. 3. 6, *quid dico nuper, immo vero modo ac plane paulo ante vidimus.*

C. Lutatio. Referring to the great victory at the *Ægates*, which ended the 1st Punic war.

§ 14. **Arma capias...descendas.** The elegant correction of Madvig for the MSS. reading *armari copias...deducendas...*

P. 91, § 15. **h. dubie f.** 'They declared unmistakeably.' For *ferebant* cf. xxi. 41. 7.

c. xv. § 1. **pariter...h. minus.** This seems so pleonastic that we may be tempted to translate *pariter* 'at the same time,' but *pariter* qualifies *intentus*, and *inter suos h. m. q. in hostes* is epexegetic, i.e. 'watching both sides alike, his own men no less than the enemy.'

ab illis invictum. 'A resolution unshaken by the former.'

§ 2. **summa ope.** Often used by Livy in the sense of the familiar *summopere*.

arbusta, &c. These nomin. are in appos. with *regio*, though we should expect a dependent clause explanatory of the *præs. copiæ*.

§ 4. **Casilinum** was strongly placed on both banks of the river (*eo dividitur amni*, Liv. xxiii. 17. 10). One part of it was stoutly defended by the garrison after the battle of Cannæ.

dirempta expresses strongly the separation of the two parts of the town.

dividit. It would be more natural to say that the river parted the two districts, not the town.

Campanum is here used in its most restricted sense of the neighbourhood of Capua, as distinct from the *Falernus* and *Calenus ager*. Cf. 25. 7.

P. 92, § 8. **ad con. teli.** As we say 'a stone's throw.' So also 29. 4.

§ 9. **in prœlium rediit.** 'Turned and offered battle.' Used elsewhere in Livy in the same sense.

§ 10. **Cales.** Still within the great wine district. *Prælo domitam Caleno | tu bibes uvam*, Hor. Od. i. 20. 9.

§ 11. **saltum, q. s. T.** The pass of Lautulæ on the Appian road which ran along the coast was often mentioned in the early campaigns of Rome as an important strategic point. As the Latin road by Teanum and Venafrum lay open, it is hard to see the importance of this step.

The *ager R.* was the district immediately round Rome, including also the lands of many of the towns of Latium which had received the full *civitas.*

§ 12. **in viam.** Through the range of Callicula. Cf. § 3.

c. xvi. § 1. **bina castra.** As in xxi. 59. 2 the distributive is used with the plural *castra*, as the word bears a different sense in the singular.

§ 2. **aequiore** probably refers to a plateau on higher ground, but the secondary sense of 'favourable,' as opposed to *iniquus*, is also suggested.

P. 93, § 4. Inclusus. The account in Polybius contains no such plan of seizing all the outlets through which H. might have marched. It represents only an attempt to surprise him by an ambuscade as he was passing through the mountains. It speaks also of three passes through the Eastern highlands, besides the coast roads. It seems indeed most improbable that the Romans should have ventured to divide their forces, and attempt so bold a policy against an enemy whom they dared not meet in open country. Livy's description is ill suited to the actual scene, and to the formidable strength of the invader.

via ad Cas. 'As his way (southward) was intercepted by the garrison at Cas.'

tant. soc. A bold phrase for *tot socii.*

Liternum was afterwards famous as the place of the voluntary exile of *Scipio Africanus.* Its *stagna* were formed by the river Clanius near its entry into the sea, now known as Lago di Patria.

§ 6. **ludibrium oculorum.** 'An ocular delusion.'

§ 7. **quos...multos.** Not *quorum*, as there is no relation here of part to whole. Cf. i. 55. 3, *sacella quæ aliquot ibi a Tatio rege consecrata fuerant.*

c. xvii. § 3. **repente.** To be taken with *disc.*, *circa* with *virgulta*, as *omnem deinceps agrum* xxi. 52. 5, and often elsewhere adverbs are used as adj. by L.

visa is inserted by Madvig after Perizonius, on the ground that it would be absurd to say *h. s. q.... accensis* if the underwood was actually on fire.

§ 4. **Qui ad transitum.** Polybius clearly describes the whole scene. 4000 men were placed in ambush at the outlet of a defile, while the main body were drawn up by Fabius on a hill commanding the approach. But at the sight of the

lights upon the mountain-sides the Romans in the pass, thinking that the enemy was escaping along the higher ground, left their station in pursuit, and the main body of H. passed through unmolested. Livy's account is vague in the extreme.

P. 94. **Qua minime...** 'They made for the top of the mountain-ridges, thinking that their safest course lay in the direction where the lights were flashing least.'

§ 6. **in fugam.** According to Polyb., after collision with the light troops of H., they remained upon the heights waiting for the dawn.

armaturae incurrere. A rare constr. Livy commonly says *incurrere in aliquid.*

neutros... This const. is awkwardly involved; though *neutros* is governed by *tenuit*, the negative which it contains belongs properly to a distinct sentence which states a further result that neither side was ready to begin fighting.

c. XVIII. § 1. **abhorrens.** 'Shrinking.'

§ 2. **intercl. ab suis.** 'Cut off from the main body.' Livy uses *suis* freely, as § 7 and 17. 4, without reference to the principal subject of the sentence.

§ 3. **assuetior.** We notice here the want of a Latin partic., like *οὖσα*, the place of which might be supplied by *utpote* or *quippe.*

campestrem. 'Lowlander.'

statarium. Cf. IX. 19. 5, when speaking of the soldiers to the phalanx and the legion he says *statarius uterque miles ordines servans.*

§ 5. **super Allifas.** To be taken with *consedit,* not *transgressus.* Cf. 17. 7.

§ 6. **Pelignos.** This was a Sabine tribe N.E. of Lake Fucinus, whose chief city, Corfinium, was chosen as the seat of empire by the Italians in the Social War. Its country was too rugged to offer much plunder to H.

P. 95, § 7. **Gereonium** (*castellum Apuliae inops*, 39. 16) was 25 miles from Luceria (Pol. III. 100), and selected by H. for his winter quarters, 23. 9.

§ 8. **sacrorum c.** Plut. Fab. 178, *τῶν ἱερέων καλούντων ἐπί τινας θυσίας.* So we read occasionally of special appointments of a dictator for ceremonial purposes, *clavi figendi causa,* Liv. VII. 3, *feriarum causa* VII. 28, and *ludorum causa* XXVII. 33.

imperio...consilio are less properly connected with *agens* than *precibus*, but the same construction is repeated xxiv. 32. 5.

§ 9. It might perhaps be better to put a comma after *hostis*, and to assume an ellipse of 'he should remember' before *medicos*. Cf. Cic. Tusc. i. 17. 41, *horum igitur aliquid animus est, ne tam vegeta mens aut in corde cerebrove...jaceat.*

quiete. 'By doing nothing.' Cf. xxi. 10. 3, *nec unquam quietura Romana foedera.*

§ 10. **haec n. praem.** These words sum up the foregoing advice of Fabius, and link together the earlier clauses with the final *profectus.*

c. xix. § 3. **Carthag.** Nova C. or Cartagena.

naves. The reading of Madvig makes the construct. simpler than the *navibus* of the MSS., which is awkward if taken with *prof.*, and would require *ducebat* to bear the meaning 'had the...marched.' Polyb. has *ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶ παρὰ τὴν χέρσον ἐποιεῖτο τὸν πλοῦν, τοῖς δὲ πεζοῖς τὴν πορείαν παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν*, iii. 95. *Navibus* probably grew out of *navis* (*naves*), as in xxi. 43. 4 *habentibus* from *habentis.*

§ 4. **idem consilii,** i.e. *confligere* as above.

ingentem... Taken by *hypallage* with *f.*, not with *auxiliorum.*

§ 5. **Massiliensium.** Polyb. notes the general zealousness of Massilia in the Roman cause throughout the war.

speculatoriae. *Non sunt triremes sed naves minores sine rostris ut constat ex Liv.* xxxvi. 42, Drakenb. ap. Fabri.

P. 96, § 6. **universo terrore.** 'General panic.'

effuso. Livy more often uses *offusus* with *terror.* Cf. xxviii. 29. 7.

§ 7. **nondum...aperientibus.** A bold constr., in which the negative sense is transferred from the verb to the adverb= 'still hiding.' Cf. also xxii. 6. 9, *quum...dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem.* There is nothing in Polyb. to answer to this rhetorical description of the confusion, though the accounts otherwise agree.

§ 8. **classem esse**...follows a verb 'announce,' understood in *jubet.*

nihil minus quam...exspect. A very favourite phrase of Livy which often occurs.

§ 10. **resolutis o....** 'Unfasten the cables (which bound the stern of the ship to the shore), and drift towards the anchors' (which were let down from the prow facing the sea by *ancoralia*). The MSS. read *eveherentur*, which is ill balanced by *incidunt*. W. reads *evicti tenentur*, which has little to recommend it, but is suggested by the *teneat* which follows.

P. 97, c. xx. The [*in*] probably, as Madvig suggests, was a copyist's error which grew out of the *m* in *pretentam*.

§ 2. **quae non aut...** The one set was not seaworthy, the other had run aground and could not be towed away.

§ 4. **Onusam.** V. xxi. 22. 5.

§ 5. **iniuncta m.** 'Which abutted on the walls.' In fortified towns a clear space was commonly left. For use of *iniunctæ* cf. v. 7. 1, *quum vineæ tantum non iam iniunctæ manibus essent*.

§ 6. **Longuntica** must have been near Nova C., according to a passage from Pliny 19. 2. 30, *æstimare quanto sit in usu* (*spartum*)...*navium armamentis machinis ædificationum......ad hos omnes usus quæ sufficiant minus triginta millia passuum in latitudinem a litore Carthaginis novæ minusque C in longitudinem esse reperientur*.

sparti. Sp. *esparto*. A natural grass which Pliny calls *iuncus proprie aridi soli...hinc strata rusticis eorum, hinc ignes facesque, hinc calceamina, et pastorum vestes*. It was especially used for cordage on shipboard, *in sicco præferunt e cannabi funes*. Hence the name Spartarius Campus for the neighbourhood of Carthago Nova.

§ 7. **prælecta est ora.** The MSS. reading is certainly corrupt, *proiectas oras* or *periectas*. W. corrects it to *prævecta est oram* (*classis*), but the change to the neut. pass. *transmissum* is much more awkward after a verb like *prævecta* used actively, and therefore Madvig's reading is to be preferred.

Ebusum. The largest of the Pityusæ islands which lie between the Baleares and the coast of Spain, now Iviza. Ibusim = 'pine islands,' Schröder, p. 99.

§ 9. **Baliaribus.** Cf. xxi. 21. 12.

§ 10. **provinciæ.** Spain was not yet regarded as a *provincia*, though steps had been taken in that direction by the commission given to Scipio, but as W. remarks Livy is thinking of the later distinction of *Hisp. citerior et ulterior*.

accolunt, a correction of the *incolunt* of the MSS. which seems too bold with Hiberum, yet Fabri compares Polyb. III. 42, *τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὸν ποταμόν* and Eurip. Phœn. 126, *Λερναῖα δ' οἰκεῖ νάμαθ' Ἱππομέδων ἄναξ.*

§ 11. **populi.** As in Gaul tribal names appear chiefly in Spain in early times, and the towns known are few. The permanence of these tribal names in Gaul is shown by their outliving the Roman designations of the towns, and lasting on in so many of the present names.

P. 98, § 12. **Castulonensem.** This was afterwards the boundary between Tarraconensis and Bœtica. Its city Castulo, now Cazlona, which Livy calls *urbem validam ac nobilem,* gained its importance from its silver mines, and was so Carthaginian in its sympathies that Hannibal took from it a wife, xxiv. 41. 6. Castulo in Phœnician='god's bow,' Schröder, p. 127.

c. xxi. § 1. **fuisset per.** 'So far as.' 'If the C. only had been concerned.' Cf. Cic. Fin. II. 28, *consequatur summas voluptates non modo parvo sed per me nihilo.*

§ 2. **præterquam...** The Sp. were stirred to war not only by their natural restlessness but by the influence of their chieftains.

Mandonius was the brother-in-law of Indibilis, Liv. xxvi. 49. 9.

Ilergetum. Cf. xxi. 22. 3, reduced by Cn. Scipio xxi. 61, hence *antea.*

4. **tribuni.** W. follows the MSS. in the reading *tribunus,* in which case *missi* would be a constr. *ad synesim,* agreeing with the plural of *trib. cum aux.* Cf. note on xxi. 60. 7.

§ 5. **cis Hib.** 'To his own side of,' from the point of view of agent not writer.

§ 6. **Ilergavonensium.** Two of the best MSS. read Lergav. According to Ukert II. 1, p. 418, some coins have Ilercavonia. It is otherwise unknown.

Novam cl. Supposed to be a local name, possibly to be identified with *Ad Novas* mentioned in the Itinerar. Anton. between Ilerda and Tarraco.

c. xxii. § 1. **prorogato.** The tenure of office was strictly limited to fixed periods at Rome, and it was contrary to constitutional usage to extend it in ordinary cases. But in the year 326 B.C. Q. Publilius Philo the consul was allowed by a vote of the commons *ut pro consule rem gereret quoad debel-*

latum cum Graecis esset, Liv. VIII. 23. 7. But to mark the distinctive character of this *prorogatio* in this and other cases the official was always spoken of not as *magistratus* but *pro magistratu*, and for a long time a vote of the people as well as a resolution of the senate was needed. It was at first resorted to only in the case of *imperium militiae*, or the highest command away from Rome, and never to the *imp. domi*, in which a *praefectus iuri dicundo* or an *interrex* stepped into the place of an absent or deceased official. It was, however, sparingly adopted in case of lower offices at Rome. With the institution of *provinciae* the prorogation became a regular procedure, and a *proconsul* or *propraetor* was appointed for each, but towards the end of the Republic an interval of at least 5 years was required between the office of consul and proconsul, praetor and propraetor.

P. 99, § 2. **portum T.** Hübner remarks that Strabo calls T. *ἀλίμενος* III. 4. 7, and that it is still one of the worst roads on the Spanish coast, though Eratosthenes spoke of a *ναύσταθμον* there. Yet 8 years later C. Claudius Nero sailed direct from Puteoli to Tarraco, XXVI. 17. 2, though the troops more commonly disembarked at Emporiae and marched to T., until the fall of Carthago Nova changed the centre of operations.

§ 4. **nec ullo viso**, for *et nullo*, as the negative belongs not to the main sentence, but to the secondary clause. This confusion is of frequent occurrence in Livy, cf. VII. 9. 1, *quum... exercitum duxissent neque inventis in agro hostibus Ferentinum ...cepissent.*

traditos, i.e. to the governor of the garrison. They were left there, says Polybius, because of the strength of the place and the supposed fidelity of the guard, III. 98.

§ 5. **liberum.** The contracted form of this gen. plur. is very usual in Livy as in *deum* and *socium*.

§ 7. **unum**, 'a single,' as § 8, *eam unam rem* 'that single exploit.'

id agebat, 'his object was.'

emolumentum. The abstract for the concrete, as *semina discordiarum tribuni* III. 19. 6, *uno equo per urbem verum triumphum vehi* XXVIII. 9. 8, *ludibrium verius quam comes* I. 56. 9. The object of Abelux was not merely that the 'gain might be as great as possible' taking *emolumentum* as the subject, but that he might 'himself profit his new allies.' For this the natural construction would be *emolumento esset*, though in Cic. de fin. II. 18 the best MSS. have *cuius mors tibi emolumentum futura sit.*

§ 9. **Bostaris.** The meaning of the name is 'servant of *Astarte*,' Schröder, p. 93.

P. 100, § 12. **subitum** is used for the results of *donum*, 'what gift there could be which would speedily work such marvels.'

§ 13. **momentum**, a change of Madvig for 'nomen' 'reputation,' which is however quite a natural reading though less forcible. Cf. xxv. 39. 16, *apud omnes magnum nomen Marcii ducis est.*

§ 15. **ad cetera**, 'up to the level of.'...Fabri compares *ad sic (ut comparationem significet) poni non solet nisi in significanda dissimilitudine et differentia.* Madvig, Cic. Fin. iii. 16.

§ 16. **fide accepta d.** Like the Greek δεξιὰν δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν.

§ 18. **per eundem ordinem** is an unusual expression in Livy, who prefers the abl. Polyb. tells us that Abelux himself took the hostages to their homes, and there is therefore some slight probability in the suggested reading of Heerwagen, *per eundem eodem ordine*, awkward as it reads and *mirificum* as Madvig calls it.

§ 19. **Illos.** As Fabri remarks, the Carthaginians though the last mentioned are the more remote object in the mind of the writer, and hence *illos.*

P. 101, § 21. **spectare**, 'prepare for,' but xxiii. 6. 4, *plebes ad defectionem spectare.*

c. xxiii. § 1. **quoque**, though not expunged in the text, seems out of place, but it may be explained to refer to a more general comparison in the writer's mind between the war in Spain and Italy.

§ 3. **ita** balances the *ut* in 3. 2.

armatos...togatosque. Fabri quotes Cic. in Pis. 30, *Non dixi hanc togam...sed quod pacis utique est insigne et otii toga, contra autem arma tumultus atque belli, poetarum more locutus.*

utique. This clause anticipates the contents of c. 24.

§ 4. **ager dict.** Cf. in like case the action of Pericles who made over to the state his lands which he thought might be spared on personal grounds by the enemy. Thuc. ii. 13.

§ 5. **quia non exsp.** He had not waited for the sanction of the senate, which was regarded as constitutionally needful in all financial questions.

§ 6. **pondo bina et selibras**, cf. XXI. 62. 8, and Varro de Ling. Lat. IV. 40, *Se valet dimidium ut in selibra, semodio.*

§ 7. **sæpe iactata**, 'after frequent debate.'

§ 8. **quoniam**, &c., explains the following *tardius er.*

erogaretur. The technical term for a vote of the supplies.

P. 102, § 10. **præsidio.** A participle like *futurus* is here needed to balance *circumspectans.*

secunde, cf. note on 2. 3.

c. XXIV. § 4. **quod, minime...** Polybius explains more fully the policy of H. who was anxious to winter at Gereonium, and to gather in supplies from all the country round before the Romans could interfere. This accounts for the large numbers (*duas exercitus partes* 23. 10) sent out to forage. He recalled indeed part of them at first, when the two camps were pitched so near each other, but ventured at last to send them out again, as he was anxious to gain large reserves of fodder for the horses, in which his strength lay. The scene and the details are much better described by the Greek writer.

§ 5. **conspectum.** See note on 4. 6.

§ 6. **Proprior.** To be taken with *Romanorum castra*, understood in what follows, *ei* with *apparuit.*

§ 7. **paucitate**, i. e. 2000 Polyb.

§ 8. **[Tum ut].** If these are expunged, the rest makes good sense. W. reads *tum utique*, which is harsh, though it may be supported by *tum utique immodice* of 27. 2.

P. 103. **per aversa a castris...** Madvig's correction for *per av. castra e castris* of the MSS. W. suggests *per a. c. ne conspici posset e castris H.*, but all this is already implied in the text, which is much simpler, and *aversa castra* is an unnatural expression for the 'side of the camp which was remote from,' and those who issued from the camp would not go *per castra.* The phrases *per aversa urbis*, v. 29. 1, or *aversis collibus*, XXVII. 41. 6, do not seem to justify the use of *aversa castra* in this sense.

§ 9. This section has been rearranged by Madvig, as the MSS. seem here, as often in this book, to have lost some words out of their text.

§ 10. **receperat suos.** Polyb. mentions that Hasdrubal had covered the retreat of many of the foragers to the camp at Gereonium, to which H. afterwards retired.

§ 11. **Iusta acie ac coll. sig.** Common expressions for a regular engagement, as distinct from skirmishes.

§ 12. **Bovianum** was the chief town of the Samnites Pentri, IX. 31. 4, so important in early times that the Romans made repeated attempts to secure it as a step towards the conquest of Samnium.

iussu dict. The details of the levies had been left to the discretion of the dictator. The regular *dilectus* was resorted to for the legions. The *socii* were required to furnish contingents of a certain strength under their native officers, over whom Roman *præfecti* were commonly appointed.

quingentos. The MSS. have *et equites adducentem* without a numeral. This may have grown out of *equites D ducentem*. Alschefski read *mille*, supposing that *et* was a mistake for the sign ∞.

§ 14. **vanam,** though not in the MSS., seems needed to explain the *vanioribus* which follows. For this use of the word Heerwagen compares Verg. Æn. II. 79, *Nec si miserum Fortuna Simonem | finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget.*

c. xxv. § 1. **contione.** Referring to the speech of the tribune below.

§ 2. **ut.** 'Assuming that.'

§ 3. **trib. plebis.** The *tribunes* of an earlier age had been the spokesmen and leaders of the *plebs* in its civil struggles with the privileged order of the *patres*, and in their speeches, as reported in the annalists, it was a common topic of complaint that their rulers engaged in constant wars to distract the attention of the people from their grievances at home. The legal inequalities had been long swept away, but the *tribunate* lasted on, though it had lost its original value and importance. The tribunes still headed the opposition against the senatorian government, which they rudely shook in the period of the *Gracchi*, and helped in a later age to overthrow. It is a feature of Livy's rhetorical style to introduce their harangues into his text. The same names and argument recur in different periods.

enimvero. The MSS. have only *enim*, which is used in other places of Livy, as VII. 32. 13, elliptically, to reply to supposed objections, but not, according to Madvig, to express indignation, as *enimvero* is employed Cic. Verr. I. 26, *Hic tum alius ex alia parte: enimvero ferendum hoc non est.*

P. 104 § [illegible]. [illegible]

§ [illegible]. [illegible]

§ [illegible]. [illegible]

§ [illegible]. [illegible] The repetition in a different sense is awkward.

§ 10. abrogandis. A Roman magistrate could not be constitutionally deposed except by a legislative act, or vote of the comitia. Early tradition cited such a case at the beginning of the republic, Brutus ...collegae suo imperium abrogavit (Cic. Brut. 14. 53), but in the best days of Rome there was scarcely any example known, for C. Flaminius was not deposed, as Livy xxi. 63 implies, but declared illegally elected, vitio creatum. Cinna was deposed, but only by a vote of the senate sitting at Rome, and he regarded the act as null and void. But though there was no regular procedure of a recall, we hear of abrogation in the case of pro-consuls (Liv. Epit. 67), and tribunes as in the famous case of M. Octavius, 133 B.C.

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§ 2. **toga.** The dress of the middle class, distinguished from the *tunicatus popellus* of Horace.

latum cum Græcis esset, Liv. viii. 23. 7. But to mark the distinctive character of this *prorogatio* in this and other cases the official was always spoken of not as *magistratus* but *pro magistratu*, and for a long time a vote of the people as well as a resolution of the senate was needed. It was at first resorted to only in the case of *imperium militiæ*, or the highest command away from Rome, and never to the *imp. domi*, in which a *præfectus iuri dicundo* or an *interrex* stepped into the place of an absent or deceased official. It was, however, sparingly adopted in case of lower offices at Rome. With the institution of *provinciæ* the prorogation became a regular procedure, and a *proconsul* or *proprætor* was appointed for each, but towards the end of the Republic an interval of at least 5 years was required between the office of consul and proconsul, prætor and propraetor.

P. 99, § 2. **portum T.** Hübner remarks that Strabo calls T. ἀλίμενος iii. 4. 7, and that it is still one of the worst roads on the Spanish coast, though Eratosthenes spoke of a ναύσταθμον there. Yet 8 years later C. Claudius Nero sailed direct from Puteoli to Tarraco, xxvi. 17. 2, though the troops more commonly disembarked at Emporiæ and marched to T., until the fall of Carthago Nova changed the centre of operations.

§ 4. **nec ullo viso**, for *et nullo*, as the negative belongs not to the main sentence, but to the secondary clause. This confusion is of frequent occurrence in Livy, cf. vii. 9. 1, *quum... exercitum duxissent neque inventis in agro hostibus Ferentinum ...cepissent.*

traditos, i.e. to the governor of the garrison. They were left there, says Polybius, because of the strength of the place and the supposed fidelity of the guard, iii. 98.

§ 5. **liberum.** The contracted form of this gen. plur. is very usual in Livy as in *duum* and *socium.*

§ 7. **unum**, 'a single,' as § 8, *eam unam rem* 'that single exploit.'

id agebat, 'his object was.'

emolumentum. The abstract for the concrete, as *semina discordiarum tribuni* iii. 19. 6, *uno equo per urbem verum triumphum vehi* xxviii. 9. 8, *ludibrium verius quam comes* i. 56. 9. The object of Abelux was not merely that the 'gain might be as great as possible' taking *emolumentum* as the subject, but that he might 'himself profit his new allies.' For this the natural construction would be *emolumento esset*, though in Cic. de fin. ii. 18 the best MSS. have *cuius mors tibi emolumentum futura sit.*

§ 9. **Bostaris.** The meaning of the name is 'servant of *Astarte*,' Schröder, p. 93.

P. 100, § 12. **subitum** is used for the results of *donum*, 'what gift there could be which would speedily work such marvels.'

§ 13. **momentum**, a change of Madvig for 'nomen' 'reputation,' which is however quite a natural reading though less forcible. Cf. xxv. 39. 16, *apud omnes magnum nomen Marcii ducis est.*

§ 15. **ad cetera**, 'up to the level of.'...Fabri compares *ad sic (ut comparationem significet) poni non solet nisi in significanda dissimilitudine et differentia.* Madvig, Cic. Fin. iii. 16.

§ 16. **fide accepta d.** Like the Greek δεξιὰν δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν.

§ 18. **per eundem ordinem** is an unusual expression in Livy, who prefers the abl. Polyb. tells us that Abelux himself took the hostages to their homes, and there is therefore some slight probability in the suggested reading of Heerwagen, *per eundem eodem ordine*, awkward as it reads and *mirificum* as Madvig calls it.

§ 19. **illos.** As Fabri remarks, the Carthaginians though the last mentioned are the more remote object in the mind of the writer, and hence *illos*.

P. 101, § 21. **spectare**, 'prepare for,' but xxiii. 6. 4, *plebes ad defectionem spectare.*

c. xxiii. § 1. **quoque**, though not expunged in the text, seems out of place, but it may be explained to refer to a more general comparison in the writer's mind between the war in Spain and Italy.

§ 3. **ita** balances the *ut* in 3. 2.

armatos...togatosque. Fabri quotes Cic. in Pis. 30, *Non dixi hanc togam...sed quod pacis utique est insigne et otii toga, contra autem arma tumultus atque belli, poetarum more locutus.*

utique. This clause anticipates the contents of c. 24.

§ 4. **ager dict.** Cf. in like case the action of Pericles who made over to the state his lands which he thought might be spared on personal grounds by the enemy. Thuc. ii. 13.

§ 5. **quia non exsp.** He had not waited for the sanction of the senate, which was regarded as constitutionally needful in all financial questions.

§ 6. **pondo bina et selibras**, cf. xxi. 62. 8, and Varro de Ling. Lat. iv. 40, *Se valet dimidium ut in selibra, semodio.*

§ 7. **saepe iactata**, 'after frequent debate.'

§ 8. **quoniam**, &c., explains the following *tardius er.*

erogaretur. The technical term for a vote of the supplies.

P. 102, § 10. **praesidio.** A participle like *futurus* is here needed to balance *circumspectans.*

necunde, cf. note on 2. 3.

c. xxiv. § 4. **quod, minime...** Polybius explains more fully the policy of H. who was anxious to winter at Gereonium, and to gather in supplies from all the country round before the Romans could interfere. This accounts for the large numbers (*duas exercitus partes* 23. 10) sent out to forage. He recalled indeed part of them at first, when the two camps were pitched so near each other, but ventured at last to send them out again, as he was anxious to gain large reserves of fodder for the horses, in which his strength lay. The scene and the details are much better described by the Greek writer.

§ 5. **conspectum.** See note on 4. 6.

§ 6. **Proprior.** To be taken with *Romanorum castra*, understood in what follows, *ei* with *apparuit.*

§ 7. **paucitate**, i. e. 2000 Polyb.

§ 8. **[Tum ut].** If these are expunged, the rest makes good sense. W. reads *tum utique*, which is harsh, though it may be supported by *tum utique immodice* of 27. 2.

P. 103. **per aversa a castris...** Madvig's correction for *per av. castra e castris* of the MSS. W. suggests *per a. c. ne conspici posset e castris H.*, but all this is already implied in the text, which is much simpler, and *aversa castra* is an unnatural expression for the 'side of the camp which was remote from,' and those who issued from the camp would not go *per castra.* The phrases *per aversa urbis*, v. 29. 1, or *aversis collibus*, xxvii. 41. 6, do not seem to justify the use of *aversa castra* in this sense.

§ 9. This section has been rearranged by Madvig, as the MSS. seem here, as often in this book, to have lost some words out of their text.

§ 10. **receperat suos.** Polyb. mentions that Hasdrubal had covered the retreat of many of the foragers to the camp at Gereonium, to which H. afterwards retired.

§ 11. **Iusta acie ac coll. sig.** Common expressions for a regular engagement, as distinct from skirmishes.

§ 12. **Bovianum** was the chief town of the Samnites Pentri, IX. 31. 4, so important in early times that the Romans made repeated attempts to secure it as a step towards the conquest of Samnium.

iussu dict. The details of the levies had been left to the discretion of the dictator. The regular *dilectus* was resorted to for the legions. The *socii* were required to furnish contingents of a certain strength under their native officers, over whom Roman *præfecti* were commonly appointed.

quingentos. The MSS. have *et equites adducentem* without a numeral. This may have grown out of *equites D ducentem*. Alschefski read *mille*, supposing that *et* was a mistake for the sign ∞.

§ 14. **vanam**, though not in the MSS., seems needed to explain the *vanioribus* which follows. For this use of the word Heerwagen compares Verg. Æn. II. 79, *Nec si miserum Fortuna Simonem | finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget.*

c. xxv. § 1. **contione.** Referring to the speech of the tribune below.

§ 2. **ut.** 'Assuming that.'

§ 3. **trib. plebis.** The *tribunes* of an earlier age had been the spokesmen and leaders of the *plebs* in its civil struggles with the privileged order of the *patres*, and in their speeches, as reported in the annalists, it was a common topic of complaint that their rulers engaged in constant wars to distract the attention of the people from their grievances at home. The legal inequalities had been long swept away, but the *tribunate* lasted on, though it had lost its original value and importance. The tribunes still headed the opposition against the senatorian government, which they rudely shook in the period of the *Gracchi*, and helped in a later age to overthrow. It is a feature of Livy's rhetorical style to introduce their harangues into his text. The same names and argument recur in different periods.

enimvero. The MSS. have only *enim*, which is used in other places of Livy, as VII. 32. 13, elliptically, to reply to supposed objections, but not, according to Madvig, to express indignation, as *enimvero* is employed Cic. Verr. I. 26, *Hic tum alius ex alia parte: enimvero ferendum hoc non est.*

P. 104, § 5. specie classis... Cf. 11. 7.

§ 6. **duos praetores.** Cf. 31. 6 for *T. Otacilius*, and xxiii. 21. 4 for *A. Cornelius Mammula.*

§ 7. **Campanum...** Cf. 15. 4.

§ 9. **ut...ut.** 'As soon as'...'as if.' The repetition in a different sense is awkward.

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proclamando. A contemptuous term instead of *orando*. Cf. Cic. de Orat. I. 46, *non enim causidicum nescio quem neque proclamatorem aut rabulam hoc sermone nostro conquirimus.*

in notitiam...honores. 'Attained to notoriety, and then to public office.' These honours were the lower offices afterwards included in the comprehensive term *vigintiviratus*, comprising several boards, the lowest rank in a political career.

§ 3. **duabus aedil.** Only three cases are known of men who held both *ædileships*, but one or other was a necessary step in an official career, and was heavily weighted with the expenses of the public shows.

§ 4. **dictatoria invidia.** For this use of an adjective, to express the object of the substantive, cf. Cic. Cluent. 28. 77, *ex invidia senatoria crescere*, Liv. III. 42. 6, *posito decemvirali odio*, XXIX. 18. 10, *divino humanoque scelere liberari.*

sciti plebis. Commonly in the order *plebeiscitum*. Cf. Festus, p. 293, *scita plebei appellantur ea quæ plebs suo suffragio sine patribus jussit, plebeio magistratu rogante.* Cf. 25. 17.

§ 5. **aequi atque in.** 'Friends and foes,' as elsewhere in Livy.

P. 106, § 7. **aequato imp.** Polyb. says δύο Δικτάτορες ἐγεγόνεισαν, ὃ πρότερον οὐδέποτε συνεβεβήκει, III. 103. That there was no constitutional impossibility in this is shown by the appointment of M. Junia Pera and M. Fabius Puteo at the same time, and though the latter is made to say *neque duos dictatores tempore uno, quod nunquam antea factum esset, probare se*, Liv. XXIII. 23. 2, yet he accepted office notwithstanding. The *fasti* do not recognize Minucius as dictator, but an inscription gives him the title, C. I. L. I. 556. Such a *rogatio* as that *de æquando imperio* is quite unknown to constitutional procedure.

c. XXVII. § 3. **maiorem minori.** In technical language the *magistratus maiores* were those who had the *imperium*, together with the censors, while all the rest were *minores*; but the terms are often used relatively, thus the dictator had a *maior potestas* as compared with all other officers, and the consul relatively to the *prætor*.

virgas ac secures...tremere. Referring probably to the like case of Q. Fabius, who as *magister equitum* disobeyed the instructions of the *dictator* Papirius Cursor, and though he gained a victory, nearly suffered for his want of discipline, B.C. 322. Cf. Livy VIII. 32. 6, *tunc Papirius redintegrata ira spoliari magistrum equitum ac virgas et secures expediri iussit.*

Fabius fidem militum implorans lacerantibus vestem lictoribus ad triarios tumultum jam in contionem miscentes sese recepit.

§ 8. **haudquaquam placere.** Polybius makes Fabius suggest both alternatives, and Minucius accept the division of forces.

collegæ. The term is here extended to the relation between Fabius and Minucius who had now a *par potestas*, and were therefore on the footing of the colleagues in the consulship. The *collegium* was a distinctively Roman conception as applied to a board of magistrates, who could each act with the undivided power of the whole office, without being bound by the votes of the majority. It stood also for the relation between the members, by which they were connected (*con, ligare*) as Liv. x. 22. 2, *nihil concordi collegio firmius.*

§ 9. **consilio.** Used adverbially. 'Neglect the duty of seeing that affairs were rationally conducted.'

exercitum. With ellipse of *sed* or *tantum.*

P. 107, § 10. **sicut...esset.** Though expressing a matter of fact, the verb in the subjunctive is included in a dependent clause.

c. xxviii. § 1. **et indicantibus et...explorantem.** The combination of an abl. abs. and a participle is awkward, but occurs elsewhere in Livy. Heerwagen compares xli. 19. 2, *victores circumsidunt urbem...aut metu dedituris se hostibus aut vi expugnaturi.*

§ 2. **liberam.** Uncontrolled by a superior.

et...et. *Oratio obl.*, as the thought of H. accounting for his joy.

sollertiæ. Conn. with the Oscan *sollus* = *totus*, and *sollicitus solistimus.*

§ 3. **quem qui...** 'the occupation of which would put'...

§ 4. **causam cert. contr.** An extension of a common phrase like *artes belli conserebant,* xxi. 1. 2.

procursurum. Madvig supposes that in an early MS. an *e* slipped in by error, and *per ocursurum* was gradually changed into *per occursurum* and *semper occursurum,* which stand in all the later MSS.

§ 7. **quot quemque...** The insertion of this before the main clause is awkward in constr., though it represents first the details of the action before the whole result is summed up.

§ 9. **deposcere pellendos.** 'Beg for the task of dislodging.'

P. 108. **et vanis minis.** The earlier MSS. have *et vanis animis et nimis*, which Madvig explains as a repetition of the mistake *nimis* for *minis*, and a later attempt to give a sense to the first word.

§ 12. **succedentem.** Madvig remarks that *subsequentem* would be a more natural expression, as it would give more variety after *succedens*, but there is no MS. authority for it.

§ 13. **directa.** 'Face to face,' as distinct from an ambuscade. Fabri compares xxxv. 4. 7, *postquam apertas esse insidias et recto ac iusto prælio...dimicandum viderunt.*

§ 14. **animus ad pugnam...ad fugam spes.** An example of Chiasmus, as in the next line, *clamore audito,...conspecta... acie.*

c. xxix. § 1. **non celerius.** As Duker explains, *satis celeriter nec tamen celerius quam timueram...*

§ 5. **integram a.** 'The unbroken line of the reserves.'

P. 109. **plures simul.** 'In a body.'

volventes orbem. Cf. note on Liv. xxi. 56. 2.

§ 6. **Pœnus.** Used generally of the army, not of its leader mentioned in the next clause.

palam ferente. Often used by L. for 'professing.' Cf. xxiv. 32. 1, *haud vani quidam homines palam ferre.*

§ 8. **eum primum esse...** This refers to a gnomic sentence in Hesiod ἔργ. κ. ἡμ. 293, often quoted, as by Arist. Eth. I. 4. 7, οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ | ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ κἀκεῖνος ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται | ὃς δέ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοέῃ μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων | ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται, ὁ δ' αὖτ' ἀχρήϊος ἀνήρ.

extremi. 'The meanest.'

§ 10. **cum F.** For *cum Fabii castris.*

§ 11. **patronos.** Because they were indebted to them for their safety, as the *libertus* owed his freedom to his *patronus*, or as conquered people recognized like relation to the generals who had subdued, but spared them. Cf. Cic. de Off. I. 11. 35, *ut ii qui civitates aut nationes devictas bello in fidem recepissent, eorum patroni essent more maiorum.* For a similar incident cf. III. 29. 2, where the dictator Cincinnatus saved the army of the consul L. Minucius...*et proficiscentem patronum*

salutaverit. *Patronus* seems to be another form of *pater*, as *matrona* of *mater*.

c. xxx. § 1. **in admir....convert.**, 'arrested the wondering attention.'

§ 2. **circ. militum eius**, 'such of the soldiers of F. as were grouped about them.'

§ 3. **quo fando possum**, 'as far as my poor words allow.'

§ 4. **plebeiscitum.** Cf. note on 26. 4. *Plebei* is the archaic genitive of *plebs* or *plebis*.

P. 110. **oneratus...honoratus.** Fabri compares Varr. L. L. v. 73, *onus est honos qui sustinet rempublicam*, Ovid Her. ix. 31, *non honor est sed onus*. This play upon the form of the words contrasted or *annominatio* is of frequent occurrence in many writers as in Cic. Phil. iii. § 22, *ex oratore orator*. Ov. Fasti ii. 805, *nec prece nec pretio*. Cf. Zumpt ad Verr. p. 661. Quintil. ix. § 65.

antiquo, used technically for voting against a new bill (lit. 'prefer the old'), while *abrogare* = 'repeal an old law.'

auspicium. The auspices were taken only in the name of the superior officer. Cf. note on xxi. 40. 3.

§ 5. **placatus...&c.** The precedents of old Roman discipline would have warranted more ignominious treatment, as when L. Minucius the consul who was delivered from blockade at Corbio was addressed by the dictator L. Quinctius *carebis parte prædæ miles...et tu L. Minuci...legatus his legionibus præeris*, Liv. iii. 29. 1.

tendere, for 'encamp,' i.e. *tentoria habere*, cf. Verg. Æn. ii. 29, *hic sævus tendebat Achilles*.

§ 6. **exsecrabili**, as W. remarks, like a *dies ater* of the Calendar.

§ 7. **laudibus ad caelum ferre.** Cf. Ennius ap. Cic. de Senect. 4, *Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem, | non hic ponebat rumores ante salutem. | ergo plusque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.* Hence the notable honour that was paid him, which few could ever earn. *Hanc coronam gramineam S. P. Q. R. Fabio Maximo dedit bello P. secundo quod urbem R. obsidione hostium liberasset*, A. Gell. v. 6.

§ 10. **eam nubem.** The figure is probably copied from Homer Il. 5. 522, *νεφέλῃσιν ἐοικότες, ἅς τε Κρονίων | νηνεμίης ἔστησεν ἐπ' ἀκροπόλοισιν ὄρεσσι, | ἀτρέμας ὄφρ' εὕδῃσι μένος Βορέαο καὶ ἄλλων | ζαχρειῶν ἀνέμων, οἵτε νέφεα σκιόεντα | πνοιῇσιν λιγυρῇσι διασκιδνᾶσιν ἀέντες.*

c. xxxi. § 1. **centum viginti**, supplied by Lipsius from Pol. iv. 96, as Livy would not have added *navium* without a definite number. As to Servilius cf. 11. 7.

§ 2. **Menige.** Cf. Polyb. i. 39, *παρεγίγνοντο πρὸς τὴν τῶν Λωτοφάγων νῆσον ἣ καλεῖται μὲν Μῆνιγξ, οὐ μακρὰν δ' ἀπέχει τῆς μικρᾶς Σύρτεως.* It is now called Jerbah.

Cercinam, now Karkeneh at the N. W. extremity of the Syrtis opposite to Menige.

§ 3. **iuxta...ac si** = 'just as if,' an unusual construction though found in Cic. Or. post red. 8. 20, *iuxta ac si meus frater esset*, and Sall. Jug. 45. 2 Fabri.

P. 111, § 5. **millie hominum.** Cf. note on xxi. 61. 1.

§ 7. **Ipse.** The consul Servilius, in contrast to the *classis* in 3. 6.

et collega eius, 'as was also his *colleague*,' agreeing with *accitus*, but not with the principal verb.

semestri. The dictatorship was never held more than 6 months (Liv. iii. 29. 5), probably because it was at first used only for military needs, and the early campaigns lasted only through the summer. Mommsen also makes it probable that it lasted only to the end of the term of the ordinary magistrate who named to it. This may explain the later mistake that Camillus was dictator for a whole year, caused by Livy's words *anno circumacto* vi. 1. 2.

§ 8. **Omnium prope ann.** So also do the Fasti, the Elogium of Fabius Max., and Polyb. iii. 87, as other authorities. It is probable therefore that a *prætor*, in the absence of the consul, presided over the *Comitia* and made the official declaration. Cf. note on 8. 6.

§ 11. **res obtinuisse**...follows *fugit* in or. obl. though a parenthetic clause *quum...esset* has been introduced.

titulum. Referring to the Roman custom, by which the busts of ancestors were ranged in the *atrium* of a noble house which had the *ius imaginum*, and descriptive notices were

added below of the official honours and exploits. These were carried in state in the funeral processions, and referred to in funeral speeches. Family vanity may often have altered these. Cf. Liv. VIII. 40. 2, *vitiatam memoriam funebribus laudibus reor falsisque imaginum titulis.*

c. XXXII. § 1. **Atilius.** The omission of the *prænomen* M. to the first name is unusual, while the second has the cognomen Geminus in the place of the *prænomen* Cn.

quod reliquum. Some letters of this [*quod reli*] *quom* are supposed by Madvig to have slipped out of the text of an early MS., as the later have only *quom aut. e.* Gronovius' suggestion *medium aut. e.* is not much to the point.

artibus 'policy,' as § 3.

§ 2. **opportuni ad.** An unusual phrase for hostile collision.

palatos exc. 'Cutting off stragglers.'

univ. dimicationis, 'general engagement,' cf. *universo periculo*; 12. 10 for 'decisive battle' Livy uses *supremum certamen*, there being no definite equivalent in Latin.

P. 112, § 3. **ei fuisset.** Madvig's correction of the passage of which other readings are *abeundum timuisset*, where the gerund seems out of place, or *fugæ speciem abeundo timuisset.*

repetiturus fuerit. For this combination or subjunction of the perf. future, cf. Cic. ad Att. II. 16, *Pompeius ἐσοφίζετο, quid enim futurum fuerit...se divinare non potuisse.*

§ 4. Neapolis was first referred to by Livy under the name of Palæpolis VIII. 26. 1, but the 'old city' disappears, and the 'new city' takes its place after the siege and surrender to Rome. Its other name *Parthenope* is derived from the name of the Siren, whom legend cast upon its shores, and whose tomb was shown in Strabo's days, v. 4. 7.

verba f. ut d. A pleonastic expression for 'a speech was made to the effect.'

§ 6. **subs. fortunæ,** 'a reserve for themselves in case of need.'

§ 8. **duxissent...iudicaverint.** This change of tense is not unusual in Livy, the first verb representing the action from the point of view of the writer, the second from that of the

speaker; but it is rare to find the two tenses in such close connexion.

c. xxxiii. § 1. **speculator.** The commercial relations of the Carthaginians must have made it easy for them to procure intelligence through the trading classes, who in Rome, as in many Greek cities, were often aliens and slave-born.

fefellerat, absolutely as *spe fallendi* xxi. 57. 3.

§ 2. **coniurassent.** This has puzzled the commentators who understood it of some plot to tamper with the soldiers, though their loyalty was at this time beyond suspicion. The verb is used however of the military oath of obedience, cf. 38. 3 and Cæsar, B. G. vii. 1, and probably the slaves had tried to enrol themselves in the legions as in the case reported by Pliny to Trajan, Ep. 29, *repertos inter tirones duos servos.*

aeris gr. Cf. note on 10. 7.

§ 3. **Demetrius** (*ἀνὴρ θράσος μὲν καὶ τόλμαν κεκτημένος, ἀλόγιστον δὲ ταύτην καὶ τελέως ἄκριτον* Pol. iii. 19) had been rewarded by Rome for his surrender of Corcyra by being made governor in Illyria, but had risen in revolt again, and fled to Philip when his army was routed, and Pharos taken.

P. 113, § 5. **Pineum.** Teuta the queen dowager of the Illyric Ardiæi had provoked Rome by her piracies and outrages on Roman envoys. Defeated in the ensuing war she resigned the government to Demetrius Pharos who ruled in the name of her son Pineus over such territory as was left him by treaty. After the revolt of Demetrius, the Romans spared the youthful Pineus, on condition of the payment of subsidies, which were now overdue.

dies exierat. Cf. iv. 30. 18, *indutiarum dies exierat.*

diem proferri, 'the term extended.' The common reading is *proferre* as *si diem proferimus* xxv. 38. 20, but the active voice would be used more naturally of the creditor than of the debtor.

§ 6. **in cervicibus.** A metaphor taken from the yoke upon the oxen. Cf. xlii. 50. 5, *cervicibus præpotentem finitimum regem imponere.*

§ 7. **aed. Concordiæ.** This Chapel which stood beside that of Juno Moneta on the Arx was distinct from the larger temple of Concord, which stood on the slope of the hill towards the Forum, and was founded by Camillus B.C. 267, when the consulship was thrown open to the plebs.

per, 'on occasion of.' Cf. ii. 34. 1, *per secessionem plebis.*

seditionem, derived from *sed* 'apart' (cf. *sed fraude* archaic for *sine fraude*) and *ire*, cf. *seduco*, *sepono*.

biennio ante. Manlius was in Cisalpine Gaul as prætor the year before, xxi. 17. 7; an inclusive reckoning is here adopted. Of the circumstances of the vow we know nothing.

locatam, 'put out to contract,' the duty commonly of the Censors, but occasionally of commissioners, as here, specially appointed.

§ 9. **in eam diem**...the time for the elections often varied with the return of the consuls from the seat of war, and no fixed rules could be adopted, though dictators were sometimes specially named to carry on the elections.

§ 11. **rectius visum.** The appointment of an 'interrex' was a constitutional expedient in the case of the death or resignation of the supreme magistrate. The dictator was regarded as a colleague specially named on urgent occasions by a living consul.

§ 12. **vitio creatis.** The *vitium* might consist in the neglect of the formalities of the auspices (cf. *inauspicato* xxi. 63. 7), or in some unfavourable sign at the time or after the ceremony. It rested with the college of augurs to decide by a formal *decretum*, that the election was so vitiated, upon or without an appeal to them by the senate or magistrate. The election was not thereby made null and void, but the officer was expected to abdicate of himself, and might at the end of his term be impeached for his irreverence if he persisted in retaining his office. *Vitio facti abdicarunt* is the regular entry in such cases in the Capitoline Fasti. The usage gave a dangerous encouragement to party intrigues.

ad interregn. res. i.e. the term of the consuls' office expired, and they could not therefore name another dictator.

c. xxxiv. § 1. **a patribus.** The traditions and the name of the interreges point to the kingly period of Rome, and the vacancy at the death of the elective monarch, when there was no successor to step at once into his place. Then, says Livy i. 17. 4, the senate divided itself into ten *decuriæ*, in each of which the lot decided the order of rank. A board consisting of one of each *decuria* then held the monarchy in commission for 50 days, each in turn bearing the insignia of supreme command for 5. Then a second board came into office, and so on till a new king was elected. The *decuria* was supposed to consist of 10, as the early senate first contained 100. In the days of the Republic

the *patres*, or *patricii*, are always spoken of in this connexion, and it is probable, as Mommsen says (Röm. Forschungen, p. 219), that only the patrician senators took part in the formalities of the *interregnum*.

certamine patrum ac pl. The old constitutional struggle between the patricians and plebs had been finally decided when all the higher offices of state were thrown open to the latter body. But during the last century a nobility had been gradually formed, consisting of the families whether of patrician or plebeian origin which had gained possession of the curule offices, and therefore of the *ius imaginum*. This nobility was represented by the senate which consisted of ex-officials, and the privileges which it held *de facto* were clung to more tenaciously than the *de iure* claim of the older patriciate.

P. 114, § 2. **concusso**, part. for subst., 'his attack upon.' Cf. xxi. 1. 5, *Sicilia S. amissæ*.

§ 3. **augures.** Cf. on *vitio creatis*, 33. 12.

§ 4. **adductum...trahi.** The or. obl. following a verb understood in *criminando*.

§ 5. **universis**, 'if united,' cf. xxi. 33. 9 the use of *exutum*.

pugnari, 'the war could be carried on' or 'could fight with good effect,' by supplying *prospere* from the next line.

§ 6. **pater patronusque.** Cf. 29. 10, and compare the phrase *pater patratus* of the *fetialis*.

§ 7. **fœdus**, 'compact.'

hom. novum, used distinctively henceforward of the few who rose to a level with the privileged circle of nobility by gaining the consulship, but contemptuously applied like *parvenu*. The absence of such a term in English marks the distinctive feature of an aristocracy which has been always recruited freely from lower social strata.

§ 8. **eisdem...sacris.** This probably is a metaphor taken from the pledges of a secret society, as if the aristocratic clubs had bound themselves like those in old days in Greece by the oath *τῷ δήμῳ κακόνους ἔσομαι*.

It might with less likelihood be taken in the sense that the prominent plebeian families had identified themselves with the patrician by intermarriage and prejudices, whereas stress had been laid by the opponents of such intercourse (legalized by the Canuleian law) on the religious divisions of the two orders, which had distinct family *sacra*.

§ 9. **ut in patrum pot.** As the *interrex* was named by the *patres*, and he conducted the elections, they would have more influence over them than if a magistrate elected by the people presided.

§ 10. **expugnatum**, 'carried their point by force,' as if it were a violence done to the constitution.

P. 115, § 11. **certe**, 'an undoubted right,' gained by the Licinian laws B.C. 367, *consulum utique alter ex plebe crearetur*, Liv. VI. 35. 3.

liberum hab. 'would use it freely,' as Ovid, Fast. I. 52, *Verbaque honoratus libera prætor habet*, also 60. 9, *quum noctem liberam habuisset.*

mature. The MSS. have *magis vere*, but *magis* is an awkward pleonasm with *malle*, and *vere* does not effectively balance *diu*. Madvig supposes *vere* to have been a copyist's mistake for *ture*, and the *ma* to have been lengthened afterwards to *magis*.

c. xxxv. § 1. **nobilibus iam**, 'already ennobled,' i.e. their ancestors had gained curule offices.

§ 2. **unus**, 'alone' as the aristocratic candidates by dividing the votes of their party could not in any case gain the majority required.

in manu...essent. The presiding magistrate could often exert an influence over the election by deciding whether votes could be legally tendered for a candidate.

§ 3. **L. Æmilius Paulus** had been consul with M. Livius, afterwards called Salinator, in B.C. 219, and had conducted brilliantly the Illyrian war. They were accused of embezzling the plunder and Livius was condemned by all the tribes but one, and quitted the city in disgust. W. remarks that a special bill must have been passed to enable Æmilius Paulus to be re-elected within 10 years as was done afterwards, Liv. XXVII. 6. 7.

ambustus is the same metaphor as 40. 3, *se populare incendium priore consulatu semustum effugisse.* Cf. Juv. VIII. 92, *quam fulmine iusto | et Capito et Numitor ruerint damnante senatu.*

§ 4. **comitiali die.** The *comit. d.* were probably at first the same as the *dies fasti*, on which it was *fas cum populo agere*, as distinct from the *dies nefasti*, on which for various religious reasons no business could be done. Afterwards the *fasti* were restricted to a smaller number of days when judicial but not legislative business might be transacted, while both were allowed on the Comitiales.

par magis in advers. 'matched rather as a rival than a colleague.' *par* referring to the *par potestas* of the consuls, by which either could thwart the other.

§ 5. **Philo,** to be taken with *evenit.*

Romæ qualifies not *urbana,* in distinction to the department of Pomponius, but both of these prætorships in contrast to the two which follow.

peregrinos. Out of this jurisdiction over aliens gradually grew more liberal principles and methods of procedure, free from many of the technicalities of the old Roman law, and out of these a system of equity was developed.

§ 6. **additi,** not as a new principle, for that had been already introduced in B.C. 227, Liv. Epit. xx.

§ 7. **nec cuiquam.** Of the four Prætors all but M. Pomp. Matho had been consul before, so marked was the wish to secure tried officials.

c. xxxvi. § 1. **quantæ sint...variant.** 'In stating the numbers...give such various accounts.' The dependence of *sint* on *variant* is obscured by the addition *et num. et gen.*

P. 116, § 2. **alii,** nom. to some verb like *ferunt* to be understood in *variant.*

§ 3. **leg. auctas.** 'The complements of the legions raised by.'

millibus peditum et centenis. For this use of *millia* for *singula millia,* cf. xxxvii. 45. 7, *dabitis...millia talentum per duodecim annos.* So xxix. 15. 4, *stipendium præterea iis coloniis in millia æris asses singulos imperari.*

treceni eq. Yet xxi. 17. 3, the cavalry of six legions amounted to 1800, or 300 in each. Lipsius therefore inferred that the number should here be cccc after the addition. There is no MS. authority for the change, however, which is not borne out by Polybius or subsequent estimates of number.

duplicem num. eq. Pol. iii. 107 says τριπλάσιον as a general rule on critical occasions.

§ 4. **septem et oct.** $8 \times 5000 + 8 \times 5000 + 8 \times 300 + 8 \times 600 = 87{,}200$.

§ 5. **spem...dictator.** Polybius tells us that the Romans, hearing that their army was embarrassed by the loss of its supplies which Hannibal had taken, gave the consuls instructions to force a general engagement. He omits all the details of the election of Varro and the warnings of Fabius.

§ 6. **decemviri.** Cf. note on xxi. 62. 6.

§ 7. **signa.** Cf. *signa Lanuvii ad Junonis Sospitæ cruore manavere* xxiii. 31. 15, i. e. the statues or busts of the Gods.

sudasse. The correction of Madvig in a corrupt passage where the common MS. reading is *cædis*, for which *Cædiis* and *Cærites* have been suggested.

§ 8. **id quidem,** i. e. the repetition made it more fearful.

via fornicata. This vaulted way was probably a line of porticos extending to the *campus M.* which no longer existed in Livy's days (*erat*). Probably it is the same as that mentioned in xxxv. 10. 10, *porticum...a porta Fontinali ad Martis aram, qua in Campum iter esset, perduxerunt*, cf. Nardini Roma Ant. iii. 141.

§ 9. **Pæsto.** Posidonia, an old colony of Sybaris, was a Greek town conquered by the Lucanians, and afterwards colonized by the Romans under the name of Pæstum. The famous temples still to be seen on the deserted site date from the times of the Greek culture, the loss of which long afterwards the inhabitants annually deplored.

c. xxxvii. § 2. **sua propria.** Heerwagen illustrates the use of *suus* (as distinct from *alienus*) with *proprius* in contrast to *communis* by xxxiii. 2. 1, *orsus a majorum suorum suisque et communibus in omnem Græciam et propriis in Bœotorum gentem meritis.*

P. 117, § 4. **se** refers to Hiero, *sese* in § 5 to *legati.* The envoys speak first in their master's name, then in their own.

§ 5. **ducentum.** The gen. plur. contracted form as *modium*; the MS. reading wavers between cc and ccc.

§ 7. **Milite.** Equivalent to *pedite*, for which it is often used.

auxilia. Cf. note on xxi. 60. 4.

§ 8. **mille.** Silius Italicus says *Addiderat ter mille viros in Marte sagittæ | expertos* viii. 615. Yet the *ter* is not likely to have slipped out, Livy would have written *tria millia.*

funditorum. Cf. note on xxi. 21. 12.

pugnaces telo. *pugnax* is more often used absolutely, but sometimes with an abl. Cf. Hor. Carm. iv. 6. 8, *tremenda cuspide pugnax.*

§ 10. **uno tenore,** 'even tenour,' 'unswervingly.' Cf. 47. 6.

§ 12. **dare donare.** A usual pleonasm in ceremonial formulæ like that in the next line.

P. 118, c. XXXVIII. § 2. **quod nunquam.** In earlier days the soldiers had taken the oath of obedience (*sacramentum*) singly, and had also pledged themselves voluntarily to their comrades in the same *decuria* (of horse) or *centuria* (of foot) to be true to each other. This pledge Mommsen believes to be a traditional custom of old Italy, and to be indicated in passages of Livy IX. 39. 3, X. 38. 2 where *milites sacrati* are spoken of. This was now made obligatory.

§ 3. **jussu.....abituros.** These words are probably, as Drakenborch suggests, a marginal comment on *iure iurando*, which has slipped into the text. They seem needless in this context.

ad decuriandum. The MSS. have *decuriatum* and *centuriatum*, which are not known to occur elsewhere in this sense as substantives. Some propose to omit the *ad*, and regard them as supines, which would however be used in a passive sense. In favour of the common reading it may be urged that Livy has an especial fondness for verbals of the 4th decl. though *centuriatus* occurs only as the place of a *centurio*. There were 60 *centuriæ* in the legion, and 30 *decuriæ* of the horse attached to it.

§ 4. **ergo** (ἔργῳ), archaic for *causa*, occurs chiefly in legal phrases.

§ 6. **arcessitum in It.** This is probably a rhetorical use of the charge which in early days of the struggles between the two orders was so often urged by the tribunes against the patrician rulers. Polybius ignores all these details of conflict of opinion at Rome.

§ 8. **verior quam gratior.** For this repetition of the comparative, cf. Cic. pro Milone, *non timeo ne libentius hæc in illum evomere videar quam verius.* On the other hand the second is omitted where it seems most needed in I. 25. 14, *eo majore cum gaudio, quo prope* (for *propius*) *metum res fuerat.* So Tac. Agr. 4, *vehementius quam caute.*

§ 9. **quod ne.** Valla proposed *quomodo* for this reading of the best MS., but *qui* would follow awkwardly and it seems better to omit it. Cf. XXI. 36. 3, *miranti quæ res.*

togatus. An acute suggestion of Muretus for *locatus* of MSS. Cf. note on 23. 3 and III. 10. 16, *nisi dum in integro res sit, dum domi dum togati sint, caveant.*

P. 119, § 11. **res...hominibus....** Cf. Hor. Ep. i. i. 19, *Et mihi res, non me rebus subjungere conor.*

§ 12. **id locorum.** In a temporal sense. Cf. ix. 45. 1, *nunc quando vana verba ad id locorum fuerint, rebus standum esse.*

§ 13. **Et sua...** Fabri and W. retain the *id* of the MSS. instead of the correction of Gronovius.

id...perseveraret. A less usual construction than with *in* and the abl. but used by Cicero, Quint. 24, *neque te ipsum id, quod suscepisses, perseverare.*

c. xxxix. § 2. **indicente.** A correction of Gronovius for the *indigentes* of MSS., like the *non me indicente hæc fiunt* Terence Adelph. iii. 4. 62, and Cic. de fin. ii. 3 *indicente te* of some MSS. Though the act. part. is not found elsewhere in Livy, the passive *indictus* is less rare. Cf. v. 15. 6.

§ 3. **claudente.** This is supported by the use of Sallust, Hist. iii. 25, *neque enim ignorantia claudit res*, and possibly of Cic. Tusc. v. 8, *etiamsi ex aliqua parte clauderet*, though the form of the word has been objected to by Bentley and other critics, as *claudicare* is more usual. The MS. readings vary.

idem...iuris. Varro as consul had equal right and authority with his colleague.

§ 5. **Cum illo.** Madvig returns to the older reading of the verbs in the indic. instead of making them depend grammatically on *nescio an:* they really explain the use of *infestior* and are epexegetic. The authority of the best MSS. is rather in favour of the indic.

§ 6. **Ominis causa absit.** Like the modern Turk the ancient Roman apologized for the use of unlucky words, or tried to undo their effects by others of happier sound.

furere...insanit. Döderlein ap. Fabri compares Cic. Tusc. iii. 5. 11, *furorem esse rati mentis ad omnia cæcitatem. Quod quum majus esse videatur quam insania, tamen ejusmodi est, ut furor in sapientem cadere possit, non possit insania.*

P. 120, § 7. **procellas** to be taken with *ciet*, *prœlia* with *jactando.*

§ 8. **aut...aut.** Here, as in some other places, these are equivalent to 'I am...if not,' or 'If I am not.'

§ 9. **adversus unum** has been suspected as obscure and cold. It might be taken to be a contrast between the speaker

and Minucius or Varro, but the words *adversus te* of § 17 decide in favour of 'in your presence alone,' i. e. Paulus.

modum excesserim. 'I should prefer to have gone too far.'

§ 10. **sed eadem ratio.** W. remarks that two sentences are really implied in this, one *sed ratio* in contrast to *nec eventus*, and a second explanatory of the policy in question.

§ 11. **armis, viris.** The asyndeton is prominent here and in the next sentence.

§ 12. **id fidei d.** *Id*='such a,' for which Fabri compares I. 34. 10, *eam alitem ea regione cæli venisse.*

§ 13. **in diem rapto.** 'On the plunder of the day,' cf. 40. 8, *raptis in diem commeatibus.*

§ 15. **qui senescat.** 'Whose strength decays,' *in dies* 'from day to day,' distinct from *in diem* 'for a single day.'

§ 16. **sedet** supposed by early commentators to have slipped out from likeness to following *sed.*

P. 121, § 17. **Atilius** without *prænomen*, as 32. 1.

§ 18. **consul R...Pœnus imp.** An example of the chiasmus frequent in Livy.

falsa, 'groundless' or 'undeserved.'

§ 19. **laborare.** 'Eclipsed,' cf. the *lunæ labores* of Verg. G. II. 478.

c. xl. § 1. **læta.** 'Sanguine.'

magis would go more naturally with *vera*, but it implies also 'more inclined to admit the truth than' &c.

§ 3. **semustum.** His colleague had been condemned, and his own character had been called in question v. 35. 3. Cicero Phil. II. 91 sneeringly uses the epithet *semustilatus* 'singed' of the body of J. Cæsar, and p. Milone 33 of Clodius, *cadaver infelicissimis lignis semustilatum.*

suffragiis. The votes of the *Comitia* if he were put on his trial before them. They still acted as a Court of Criminal Judicature, in which the Courts for the *quæstiones perpetuæ* afterwards took their place.

P. 122, § 4. **turba,** 'from the throng.' *Dignitates*=men of eminence, an abstr. for concr., is the reading of many MSS. but regarded as *prorsus barbarum* by Madvig, though Cicero Sext. 51. 109 uses *honestates* thus, *utra causa popularis...in qua*

omnes honestates civitatis, omnes ætates, omnes ordines una consentiunt. The earlier commentators corrected the passage to *turba quam dignitate conspectior*, but with little authority.

§ 5. **propius H.** Cf. *p. periculum* xxi. 1. 2.

robur virium also used xxvii. 46. 2, as *robora virorum* xxii. 6. 2.

M. Atilium. Yet Polyb. iii. 116 makes him fall at Cannæ.

§ 8. **superabat.** Used absolutely for *superesse*, as 49. 5 *paucos superantes.*

ne q. quicquam reliqui. 'There was nothing left.' The part. gen. of this kind is frequently used by Livy as xxi. 4. 9 *nihil veri, nihil sancti.*

§ 9. **superesset...p. fuerit.** The second verb is used in pregnant sense 'was ready and would have been carried out.' (W.)

c. xli. § 1. **ex præparato.** Abstr. use of part. pass. 'after preparation.'

orto agrees with *prœlio*, and is explained by *procursu* and *iussu.*

§ 2. **Ad...septingenti.** The prepositional constr. of *ad* has been lost sight of from its colloquial use for *fere*, as iv. 59. 9, *ad duo millia et quingenti vivi capiuntur.* Yet in 50. 11, *ad sexcentos evaserunt.*

alternis. Pol. iii. 110 διὰ τὸ παρὰ μίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐθισμῶν μεταλαμβάνειν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοὺς ὑπάτους. This was in accordance with the early custom, afterwards dropped, that in civil jurisdiction each should have supreme authority by turns, and that as a symbol of this the *fasces* should be borne by the lictors before one only at a time. Cf. Cic. de Rep. ii. 31. 55 (Poplicola) *instituit primus, ut singulis consulibus alternis mensibus lictores præirent.* So Livy iii. 33. 6, *eo die penes præfectum juris fasces duodecim erant.* J. Cæsar re-introduced the old formality. Cf. Suet. Cæs. 20, *antiquum retulit morem, ut quo mense fasces non haberet, accensus ante eum iret, lictores pone sequerentur.*

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c. xlvii. § 2. **nullo relicto spatio.** As the Romans were much weaker in cavalry, it is probable that the arrangements on the battle-field had this specially in view.

§ 3. **nitentes** has no regular construction, as the *vir* which is in apposition with it takes a sing. *detrahebat.* Fabri compares xxv. 19. 6, *consules...diversi, Fulvius in agrum Cumanum, Claudius in Lucanos abit.*

§ 4. **par, dum.** This reading is due to a very acute suggestion of Madvig, in place of the *animis parum constabant* of the best MSS. which like the *pares* of other MSS. gives little meaning.

constabant. 'Were unbroken.'

§ 5. **diu.** Polyb. says ἐπὶ βραχύ.

acie densa. As above explained, the Roman ranks were much deeper than usual. Polyb. iii. 113.

P. 129. **a cetera prominentem.** Polyb. explains this much more clearly before his description of the battle, when he says that Hannibal drew up some of the Celts and Iberians

§ 12. **dare dicare.** A usual pleonasm in ceremonial formulæ like that in the next line.

P. 118, c. xxxviii. § 2. **quod nunquam.** In earlier days the soldiers had taken the oath of obedience (*sacramentum*) singly, and had also pledged themselves voluntarily to their comrades in the same *decuria* (of horse) or *centuria* (of foot) to be true to each other. This pledge Mommsen believes to be a traditional custom of old Italy, and to be indicated in passages of Livy ix. 39. 3, x. 38. 2 where *milites sacrati* are spoken of. This was now made obligatory.

§ 3. **iussu......abituros.** These words are probably, as Drakenborch suggests, a marginal comment on *iure iurando*, which has slipped into the text. They seem needless in this context.

ad decuriandum. The MSS. have *decuriatum* and *centuriatum*, which are not known to occur elsewhere in this sense as substantives. Some propose to omit the *ad*, and regard them as supines, which would however be used in a passive sense. In favour of the common reading it may be urged that Livy has an especial fondness for verbals of the 4th decl. though *centuriatus* occurs only as the place of a *centurio*. There were 60 *centuriæ* in the legion, and 30 *decuriæ* of the horse attached to it.

§ 4. **ergo** (ἔργῳ), archaic for *causa*, occurs chiefly in legal phrases.

§ 6. **arcessitum in it.** This is probably a rhetorical use of the charge which in early days of the struggles between the two orders was so often urged by the tribunes against the patrician rulers. Polybius ignores all these details of conflict of opinion at Rome.

§ 8. **verior quam gratior.** For this repetition of the comparative, cf. Cic. pro Milone, *non timeo ne libentius hæc in illum evomere videar quam verius*. On the other hand the second is omitted where it seems most needed in i. 25. 14, *eo majore cum gaudio, quo prope* (for *propius*) *metum res fuerat*. So Tac. Agr. 4, *vehementius quam caute*.

§ 9. **quod ne.** Valla proposed *quomodo* for this reading of the best MS., but *qui* would follow awkwardly and it seems better to omit it. Cf. xxi. 36. 3, *miranti quæ res*.

togatus. An acute suggestion of Muretus for *locatus* of MSS. Cf. note on 23. 3 and iii. 10. 16, *nisi dum in integro res sit, dum domi dum togati sint, caveant*.

P. 119, § 11. **res...hominibus....** Cf. Hor. Ep. I. I. 19, *Et mihi res, non me rebus subjungere conor.*

§ 12. **id locorum.** In a temporal sense. Cf. IX. 45. 1, *nunc quando vana verba ad id locorum fuerint, rebus standum esse.*

§ 13. **Et sua...** Fabri and W. retain the *id* of the MSS. instead of the correction of Gronovius.

id...perseveraret. A less usual construction than with *in* and the abl. but used by Cicero, Quint. 24, *neque te ipsum id, quod suscepisses, perseverare.*

c. XXXIX. § 2. **indicente.** A correction of Gronovius for the *indigentes* of MSS., like the *non me indicente hæc fiunt* Terence Adelph. III. 4. 62, and Cic. de fin. II. 3 *indicente te* of some MSS. Though the act. part. is not found elsewhere in Livy, the passive *indictus* is less rare. Cf. V. 15. 6.

§ 3. **claudente.** This is supported by the use of Sallust, Hist. III. 25, *neque enim ignorantia claudit res*, and possibly of Cic. Tusc. V. 8, *etiamsi ex aliqua parte clauderet*, though the form of the word has been objected to by Bentley and other critics, as *claudicare* is more usual. The MS. readings vary.

idem...iuris. Varro as consul had equal right and authority with his colleague.

§ 5. **Cum illo.** Madvig returns to the older reading of the verbs in the indic. instead of making them depend grammatically on *nescio an:* they really explain the use of *infestior* and are epexegetic. The authority of the best MSS. is rather in favour of the indic.

§ 6. **Ominis causa absit.** Like the modern Turk the ancient Roman apologized for the use of unlucky words, or tried to undo their effects by others of happier sound.

furere...insanit. Döderlein ap. Fabri compares Cic. Tusc. III. 5. 11, *furorem esse rati mentis ad omnia cæcitatem. Quod quum majus esse videatur quam insania, tamen ejusmodi est, ut furor in sapientem cadere possit, non possit insania.*

P. 120, § 7. **procellas** to be taken with *ciet*, *prælia* with *jactando.*

§ 8. **aut...aut.** Here, as in some other places, these are equivalent to 'I am...if not,' or 'If I am not.'

§ 9. **adversus unum** has been suspected as obscure and cold. It might be taken to be a contrast between the speaker

and Minucius or Varro, but the words *adversus te* of § 17 decide in favour of 'in your presence alone,' i. e. Paulus.

modum excesserim. 'I should prefer to have gone too far.'

§ 10. **sed eadem ratio.** W. remarks that two sentences are really implied in this, one *sed ratio* in contrast to *nec eventus*, and a second explanatory of the policy in question.

§ 11. **armis, viris.** The asyndeton is prominent here and in the next sentence.

§ 12. **id fidei d.** *Id* = 'such a,' for which Fabri compares I. 34. 10, *eam alitem ea regione cæli venisse.*

§ 13. **in diem rapto.** 'On the plunder of the day,' cf. 40. 8, *raptis in diem commeatibus.*

§ 15. **qui senescat.** 'Whose strength decays,' *in dies* 'from day to day,' distinct from *in diem* 'for a single day.'

§ 16. **sedet** supposed by early commentators to have slipped out from likeness to following *sed.*

P. 121, § 17. **Atilius** without *prænomen*, as 32. 1.

§ 18. **consul R....Pœnus imp.** An example of the chiasmus frequent in Livy.

falsa, 'groundless' or 'undeserved.'

§ 19. **laborare.** 'Eclipsed,' cf. the *lunæ labores* of Verg. G. II. 478.

c. XL. § 1. **læta.** 'Sanguine.'

magis would go more naturally with *vera*, but it implies also 'more inclined to admit the truth than' &c.

§ 3. **semustum.** His colleague had been condemned, and his own character had been called in question v. 35. 3. Cicero Phil. II. 91 sneeringly uses the epithet *semustilatus* 'singed' of the body of J. Cæsar, and p. Milone 33 of Clodius, *cadaver infelicissimis lignis semustilatum.*

suffragiis. The votes of the *Comitia* if he were put on his trial before them. They still acted as a Court of Criminal Judicature, in which the Courts for the *quæstiones perpetuæ* afterwards took their place.

P. 122, § 4. **turba,** 'from the throng.' *Dignitates* = men of eminence, an abstr. for concr., is the reading of many MSS. but regarded as *prorsus barbarum* by Madvig, though Cicero Sext. 51. 109 uses *honestates* thus, *utra causa popularis...in qua*

omnes honestates civitatis, omnes ætates, omnes ordines una consentiunt. The earlier commentators corrected the passage to *turba quam dignitate conspectior*, but with little authority.

§ 5. **propius H.** Cf. *p. periculum* xxi. 1. 2.

robur virium also used xxvii. 46. 2, as *robora virorum* xxii. 6. 2.

M. Atilium. Yet Polyb. iii. 116 makes him fall at Cannæ.

§ 8. **superabat.** Used absolutely for *superesse*, as 49. 5 *paucos superantes.*

ne q. quicquam reliqui. 'There was nothing left.' The part. gen. of this kind is frequently used by Livy as xxi. 4. 9 *nihil veri, nihil sancti.*

§ 9. **superesset...p. fuerit.** The second verb is used in pregnant sense 'was ready and would have been carried out.' (W.)

c. xli. § 1. **ex præparato.** Abstr. use of part. pass. 'after preparation.'

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§ 5. **dispares ac diss.** 'Differing in use and shape.'

P. 128, § 9. **ventus.** Cf. 43. 11. As W. remarks, Livy and Polyb. ignore the story told by Zonaras (after Dion Cassius) that Hannibal had the ground behind ploughed up to increase the dust. Frontinus tells the like of Marius. Strateg. II. *incommodum aliud subjecit, ita ordinata suorum acie, ut adverso sole et vento et pulvere barbarorum occuparetur acies.* Appian Bell. Hann. 17 reckons up four devices of H. which helped to gain the victory, the securing the wind at his back, the treachery of the deserters, simulated flight, and ambuscades.

c. XLVII. § 2. **nullo relicto spatio.** As the Romans were much weaker in cavalry, it is probable that the arrangements on the battle-field had this specially in view.

§ 3. **nitentes** has no regular construction, as the *vir* which is in apposition with it takes a sing. *detrahebat.* Fabri compares XXV. 19. 6, *consules...diversi, Fulvius in agrum Cumanum, Claudius in Lucanos abit.*

§ 4. **par, dum.** This reading is due to a very acute suggestion of Madvig, in place of the *animis parum constabant* of the best MSS. which like the *pares* of other MSS. gives little meaning.

constabant. 'Were unbroken.'

§ 5. **diu.** Polyb. says *ἐπὶ βραχύ.*

acie densa. As above explained, the Roman ranks were much deeper than usual. Polyb. III. 113.

P. 129. **a cetera prominentem.** Polyb. explains this much more clearly before his description of the battle, when he says that Hannibal drew up some of the Celts and Iberians

in front of his line μηνοειδὲς ποιῶν τὸ κύρτωμα, wishing to keep the Africans in reserve for a while, προκινδεῦσαι δὲ τοῖς Ἴβηρσι καὶ Κελτοῖς.

§ 6. **subsidia**, i. e. not 'the reserves' in the ordinary sense, as they constituted the main line, though they were kept back for a time, ἐφεδρείας τάξιν, Pol.

§ 7. **reductis alis.** As compared with the ranks of Celts, &c. on whose retiring the line was again level, '*aequavit frontem.*'

§ 8. **cornua f.** 'Overlapped.'

§ 10. **fessi cum rec.** This would imply, as W. remarks, that all three lines of *hastati*, *principes*, *triarii* had been already brought into action.

recentibus ac vegetis. *Recens* applies to the *strength*, *vegetus* to the *spirits* of the troops. Döderlein.

c. xlviii. § 1. **sociorum eq.** These were more numerous than the Roman cavalry. Cf. 36. 3.

§ 4. **terga ac poplites.** Cf. Hor. Carm. iii. 2. 15, *nec parcit imbellis iuventae | poplitibus timidoque tergo. Poples* is connected by Corssen ii. 209 with *pellere*, *pulex*, πάλλειν.

P. 130, § 5. **alibi...alibi**, i. e. on the right...in the centre.

Hasdrubal was in command on the left wing, and Livy has not explicitly stated anything about him since the Roman cavalry was routed. Polybius says that he galloped to support the Numidians on the right, and sent them to pursue the allied cavalry, who gave way at his approach, while he himself charged the Romans in the centre. Livy has omitted some details, or they have dropped out of his text.

ea parte praeerat probably means that Hasdrubal, as the highest in command, gave general orders to the whole cavalry when he arrived on the right wing. This is implied in Polybius.

subductos ex media acie N. They were posted on the right, but may have wheeled round on the centre, when the cavalry of the allies retired before the charge of Hasdrubal. But the words are awkward and there may be some disturbance of the text. On the whole we must own that if Livy wrote this chapter as we find it, he had no clear idea of the battle or failed to convey it to his readers. Polybius is entirely explicit.

segnis. Pol. says *μέγα μὲν οὔτ' ἐποίουν οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἔπαθον διὰ τὴν ἰδιότητα τῆς μάχης.* They were not used to fight at such close quarters.

c. xlix. § 1. **Parte altera.** Polyb. says that Paulus after the rout of his cavalry on the left wing rode up to the centre. This is implied but not expressed in Livy's *occurrit...Hannibali.*

§ 2. **equitibus R.** Probably his body-guard, or '*prætorians*' in later language.

§ 3. **renuntianti.** Much more usual than the *denuntianti* of most MSS.

Quam mallem. More definitely expressed in Plutarch *τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἠβουλόμην, ἢ εἰ δεδεμένους παρέλαβον.* The Latin version only implies that the dismounting must lead to their being taken, and that Hannibal wished that the inevitable end were come.

§ 4. **quale iam.** 'Such as might be expected seeing that the enemies' victory was certain.' For the elliptical use of *quale* cf. iii. 62. 6, *prælium fuit quale inter fidentes sibimet ambo exercitus,* i. e. *tale quale esse debuit.*

mori in vestigio. 'Die where they stood.' Cf. xxi. 35. 12.

§ 5. **Pepulerunt.** 'But at length they drove off the shattered remnant,' *superare* for *superesse,* as 40. 8.

§ 6. **prætervehens.** 'As he was riding by.' More commonly used in the passive, but the want of a pres. passive participle may explain the former.

§ 9. **macte virtute.** This phrase is often used by Livy and even vii. 36. 4 with a plural, and ii. 12. 14 after a verb, *iuberem macte virtute esse.* Priscian v. de figuris says *macte, id est, magis aucte; antiqui tamen et mactus dicebant.* Curtius p. 148 connects it with *μάκαρ, μακρός, μῆκος.*

P. 131, § 11. **e consulatu,** i. e. a charge that grew out of his acts as Consul.

§ 13. **castra.** Nothing is said of their crossing the river, which flowed between the camp, but that is an omission which is to be met equally in every description of the scene.

§ 14. **Venusiam.** A Roman colony on the borders of Apulia where Horace was born. Cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 1. 34:

Sequor hunc Lucanus an Appulus anceps, | nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus.

§ 15. **Quadraginta.** Pol. says about 70,000 in all.

tanta is scarcely possible without anything to balance it. Gronovius suggested *æqua* and Madvig *rata.* The *socii* were in greater numbers on the field, and more of them may have fallen.

§ 16. **consulares q.** i.e. of the *tribuni militum*, whose rank is included in the different orders of consular offices. Servilius was tribune, but also commander of the centre as *legatus.*

§ 17. **magistratus...unde in senatum.** The rule was determined by the *Lex Ovinia qua sanctum est ut censores ex omni ordine optimum quemque iurati in senatum legerent.* The *ordines* in question were doubtless the different orders of the magistracies, commonly thought to be curule offices only. But these would not have been numerous enough to fill up the vacancies that would occur, and the Ovinian law was passed by a tribune, and probably extended the right to the plebeian magistracies. Cf. Willems Sénat. p. 188. Accordingly the dictator entrusted with the *lectio senatus* in XXIII. 23 put on the list first those who had lately held curule office, then exædiles, extribunes and exquæstors, and after them distinguished soldiers.

sua voluntate. As volunteers, though free from military service after holding office.

c. L. § 1. **Aliensi cladi.** The battle of the Alia, 390 B.C., which was commemorated by a *dies ater* in the calendar, left Rome at the mercy of the Gauls, who occupied all but the Capitol.

P. 132, § 3. **Fuga ad Aliam.** Cf. XXI. 15. 6, *pugna ad Trebiam.*

morientis fuit. 'Shared the fate of.' Cf. XXIII. 14. 7, *plebs novarum rerum atque Hannibalis tota esse,* and XXI. 11. 1. Most of the MSS. have *fugit.* Gronovius proposed *alterius mortem prope totus exercitus luit,* referring to *quem unum insontem cladis* 49. 7.

§ 4. **qui in mai.** Another reason for believing the larger camp to be on the right bank, as W. remarks, since the survivors would make their way thence more easily to Canusium.

mittunt, i.e. to the smaller camp.

§ 5. **cur...non venire.** For the constr. cf. XXI. 30. 9, *militi...quid invium...esse.*

§ 6. **æstimari cap.** 'Have a price set upon your heads.'

civis an Latinus. Cf. the different treatment described in 7. 5.

Latinus socius. Livy more commonly distinguishes the *socii* or Italians generally from the Latins, as *socios Latinumque nomen*, 57. 10, or uses *socii* alone if no precise statement is needed. W. suggests that the two terms may be used by asyndeton like *patres conscripti*, but it is very unlikely, as there is no frequent usage to account for it.

§ 7. **cives.** Less usual for 'fellow-citizens,' as XXI. 13. 1, *si civis vester Alco.* Mark the rapid change from *mavultis* to *tu* and *estis*.

§ 9. **quamvis** qualifies *confertos*.

§ 10. **Hæc ubi...** An hexameter and a half have here slipped into the prose text. The vigorous rhetoric of the passage partly accounts for the oversight. Cf. note on XXI. 9. 3.

P. 133, § 11. **translatis in d.** This seems to be borrowed from Cælius according to a fragment preserved in Priscian, III. 22, *Cælius in primo historiarum 'dextimos in dextris scuta jubet habere.'*

ad sexcentos. Yet often we have the nom. with *ad* in the sense of *fere* as above, 41. 2 and 54. 1.

c. LI. § 1. **bello.** 'As if the war itself, not the battle alone, were ended.' (W.) This is probably too farfetched, as *bellum* is used elsewhere in L. for *pugna*, cf. XXI. 8. 2.

§ 2. According to Aul. Gell. X. 24 and Macrobius I. 4, the same story occurred both in Cato and Cælius in nearly the same form. *Die quinto Romæ in Capitolium curabo tibi cena sit cocta.* It was probably taken by Livy directly from Cælius.

§ 3. **nimis læta.** Cf. 40. 1.

quam ut eam... Possibly to avoid the awkwardness of *quam quam.* Cf. IX. 9. 8, *somnio lætiore quam quod mentes eorum capessere possent.*

temporis opus esse. For this constr. cf. XXIII. 21. 5, *quanti argenti opus fuit.* The commoner constructions are with abl. as *duce opus est, maturato opus est*, or nom. as *non dux opus est*, or inf. as *quid opus est dicere.*

§ 4. **Non omnia, &c.** For the sentiment cf. Eurip. Rhesus 105, ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸς πάντ' ἐπίστασθαι βροτῶν πέφυκεν...... | σοὶ μὲν μάχεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ βουλεύειν καλῶς.

uti nescis... This was a stock question in the schools of rhetoric of later times, *an petat urbem | a Cannis*...Juv. VII. 162. Hannibal was too far off to take Rome by a *coup de main.* Its population contained as many soldiers as his army, and he had no siege train. It would have been useless therefore for him to march on Rome in the hope of speedy capture.

§ 5. **exeunt...** A suggestion of Madvig for *insistunt,* which is not known to be used in such a connection as with *ad,* and the gerundive.

§ 6. **stricta,** i.e. smarting as they closed.

P. 134, § 9. **substratus.** The best MSS. read *subtractus,* which represents the effort to rescue the survivor.

vivus. 'Living indeed, but &c.'
Note the repeated ablatives. *Laniando*...explanatory of *rabiem.*

exspirasset.. Of the Roman.

c. LII. § 1. **brachio obi.** 'Threw up a line of earthworks and cut them off from the water,' 59. 5, *quum aqua arceremur.* Cf. IV. 9. 14, and Hist. Bell. Hisp. v., *ut eum ab oppido commeatuque excluderet brachium ad pontem ducere cœpit.*

§ 2. **trecenis.** Most MSS. have *tricenis,* or 30 only, as in Hor. Carm. II. 14. 5, *non si trecenis, quotquot eunt dies, &c.*

quadrigatis. Cf. Pliny N. H. 33. 3. 43, *Hannibale urgente asses unciales facti, placuitque denarium sedecim assibus permutari.... In militari tamen stipendio semper denarius pro decem assibus datus est. Notæ argenti fuere bigæ atque quadrigæ; inde bigati quadrigatique dicti.* The *nummus quadrigatus* was used as an equivalent of the *denarius,* though Livy employs the term proleptically, for in dealings with Carthage the standard of weight was doubtless adopted, Mommsen Röm. Münzw. 343.

§ 3. **seorsum.** As before to tempt the fidelity of the *socii* by different treatment.

§ 4. **castra...tradita.** This is different from the account of Polybius, III. 117, who says that 10,000 were left in it to attack the camp of Hannibal, which they had almost succeeded in taking when they were themselves surprised by the victorious Carthaginians, and their own camp immediately taken.

§ 5. **plurimum in phaleris.** Cf. Juv. XI. 102, *magnorum artificum frangebat pocula miles | ut phaleris gauderet equus... | argenti quod erat solis fulgebat in armis.*

ad vescendum. Cf. the prohibition of silver plate by Scipio at Numantia, ἀργυροῦν ἔκπωμα μὴ ἔχειν πλέον δικοτύλου, Polyæn. VIII. 16, and Spartian Pescenn. X. *cum milites quosdam in cauco argenteo bibere vidisset, jusserit omne argentum submoveri de usu expeditionali, addito eo, ut ligneis vasis uterentur.*

omnis cetera. Fabri notes that this is the only passage in which Livy puts these words in this order, cf. 20. 6, VII. 35. 1. Cicero however twice has *omnium ceterarum*, De Fin. V. 20, and Orat. II. 17.

§ 7. **Apula** is the correction of Lipsius for the meaningless *Paula* of the MSS.

P. 135, c. LIII. § 5. **ad regum al.**, i.e. to become soldiers of fortune in the service of a foreign prince.

§ 6. **torpidos.** Cf. note on XXI. 33. 3.

consilium. 'Council of war.'

fatalis. 'Predestined.' So V. 19. 1, cf. *Camillus fatalis dux ad excidium illius urbis.*

§ 7. **ait.** Gronovius wished to expunge this, as Livy more commonly omits the affirmative verb, which he supplies from the negative, as in I. 57. 4, *Collatinus negat verbis opus esse, paucis id quidem horis posse sciri.*

irent. The change from the present to the past is very sudden.

§ 9. **concilium,** as distinguished from *consilium* in s. 6, 'a private meeting.'

§ 10. **Ex mei animi s....** This is a common formula of a solemn oath, with the ellipse of *juro* before the *ut*, as in the Inscription, *Ex mei animi sententia ut ego iis inimicus ero quos C. Cæsari Germanico inimicos esse cognovero.* Cf. Cic. Off. III. 29, *non enim falsum jurare perjurare est, sed quod ex animi tui sententia juraris (sicut verbis concipitur more nostro) id non facere perjurium est.*

§ 11. **si sciens fallo....** As in the Or. obliq. XXI. 45. 8, *si falleret Jovem cæterosque precatus Deos, ita se mactarent.* This form is also illustrated in the Inscriptions, as usual in impressive cases.

P. 136. **afficias.** Cicero rarely uses the second pers. subj. for the imperative when addressing a definite person, as Livy and later writers often do. Cf. VI. 12. 9.

c. LIV. § 2. **in equites......et pediti.** This change of constr. is repeated in XLV. 34. 2, *tanta præda fuit ut in equitem quadringeni denarii, peditibus duceni dividerentur.*

togas et tunicas. Cf. XXIX. 36. 2, *vestimenta exercitui deerant......mille ducentæ togæ...et duodecim millia tunicarum missa.* These were probably intended for winter clothing and in the camp. They are only specified here for the *equites,* whose pay was usually three times as much as that of the *pedites.* The larger number of *tunicæ* in the passage quoted corresponds to the more frequent use of that dress by the lower orders of Rome.

§ 4. **et iam.** The conjunction *et* has here an explanatory emphasis.

§ 7. **occidione occ.** A favourite phrase of Livy for 'totally destroyed.'

P. 137, § 8. **edissertando.** Equivalent to *si edissertavero.* The word is an unusual one except in Plautus, as Stich. II. 1. 30, but Livy is fond of frequentatives, and the *disserendo* of some MSS. is more likely a later variation.

§ 9. **nuntiabantur nec ulla...esse.** A change of construction from the *Or. dir.* to the *Or. obl.* which is quite in Livy's style in rhetorical passages.

§ 11. **Compares scilicet.** The best MS. has *comparesset,* which suggested the present reading to Madvig.

vectigales ac stip. Cf. note on XXI. 41. 7.

c. LV. § 1. **curiam Hostiliam.** The senate-house by the Forum ascribed to Tullus Hostilius. Cf. I. 30. 2, *templum ordini ab se aucto curiam fecit, quæ Hostilia usque ad patrum nostrum ætatem appellata est.*

§ 2. **neque dubitabant...venturum.** This use of *non dubito* ='I do not doubt that' with the inf. is scarcely found in Cicero, who always uses *quin,* unless perhaps in Ep. ad Att. VII. 1, but it is common in Livy.

§ 3. **nondum palamfacto,** i.e. *qui vivi mortuique essent.* Livy often uses the abl. abs. of the past part. without a substantive as *permisso, edicto, debellato,* in cases where a sentence is taken as the subject to agree with it; but it is a further licence, when it is used as here without any such relation. Cf. Tac. Ann. XI. 10. 3, *in cujus amnis transgressu multum certato, pervicit Bardanes.*

§ 4. **profecto...fore,** 'surely there *must* be some.' Cf. I. 54. 1, *invisam profecto superbiam regiam civibus esse, quam ferre ne liberi quidem potuissent.*

P. 138, § 6. **illud.** Referring to the duties specified below. Cf. 36. 5.

§ 7. **auctorem,** 'the informant who would carry the tidings of', &c. For this use of *auctor* cf. i. 16. 5, *gravis ut traditur quamvis magnæ rei auctor.*

c. lvi. § 1. **pedibus issent,** i. e. had voted without further discussion. Hence the senators who commonly gave a silent vote, or divided without speaking, were called *pedarii.* The magistrate who presided used the formula, *qui hæc sentitis in hanc partem, qui alia omnia in illam partem ite, qua sentitis.*

tum demum is an emphatic way of introducing a consequent, after certain antecedents or conditions have been specified.

§ 2. **incompositorum inord.** Cf. 50. 8.

§ 3. **nundinantem,** 'bargaining,' a conjecture of Gronovius for the unmeaning *nuntiantem* of most MSS. The *nundinæ* (*novem, nonæ*) seem to have been at first the ninth days before the Kalends, but in later use to have stood for the beginnings of the early Latin week of eight days when the farmers came into the town to market. Varro de r. r. 2 præf. 1, *majores annum ita diviserunt ut nonis modo diebus urbanas res usurparent, reliquis* vii. *ut rura colerent.* Cf. Mommsen Röm. Chron. 254.

§ 4. **anniversarium Cereris.** Cf. Valer. Max. i. 1. 15, *sacra ex Græcia translata, quæ ob inventionem Proserpinæ matronæ colunt.* The chief festival of this worship took place in April, but, as W. observes, this cannot well be intended here as the battle of Cannæ was fought in August, cf. A. Gell. v. 17. 5, *Q. Claudius...cladem pugnæ Cannensis factam dicit ante diem quartum Nonas Sextiles.*

nec lugentibus......est fas. Cf. Ovid. Fast. iv. 619, *Alba decent Cererem: vestes Cerealibus albas | sumite nunc pulli velleris usus abest;* so xxxiv. 6 the period of public mourning is limited to thirty days for the same cause.

P. 139, § 8. **aliam,** equivalent to *ceteram,* as in xxi. 27. 6, *alius exercitus.*

c. lvii. § 1. **M. Claudium.** This Marcellus had defeated the Gauls at Clastidium a few years before, and was one of the bravest leaders of the age; Pliny says of him *undequadragiens dimicavit.*

§ 2. **Vestales.** At first four, afterwards six, young girls of the best families of the state were pledged to devote thirty years of unmarried life to the service of the holy fire of Vesta. Great respect was uniformly paid to them, and at their inter-

cession even criminals were pardoned, but scrupulous decorum was required of them by the state, the holy fire must never die out by their neglect, and all their doings were watched jealously by the supreme pontiff. One was suspected even of graver fault, *propter mundiorem justo cultum*, and when found guilty of incontinence was buried alive *ad portam Collinam dextra via strata defossa Scelerato Campo*. VIII. 15. 6. The penalty was several times repeated, but at times the goddess screened the penitent or justified the innocent by special portents.

§ 3. **scriba...quos.** The relative in the plural implies the class of scribes by a constr. *ad synesin*, as XXVII. 11. 3, *infantem, quos androgynos vulgus...appellat.*

minores pontifices. Of this lower order of *pontifices* little is known, except that they were three in number (Cic. de Arusp. resp. VI) and discharged certain ceremonial duties of observing the new moon and making offerings to Juno in the Curia Calabra. Macrob. I. 15. Varro's definition of *pontifex* from *pontem facere* is generally now accepted and connected with priestly forms connected with the old wooden bridge across the Tiber, the *pons Sublicius*. It was doubted in ancient times and Mucius Scævola explained it as from *posse facere*, Plutarch from sacrifice to the *potentes*. Gœttling derived it from *pompa* and Pfund from the Oscan *pontis* or *pompe* = 5, the priests being the calculators of early society. Corssen and Curtius accept Varro's account, and connect *pons* with πάτος πατέω.

§ 4. **Hoc nefas.** The immorality of the Vestal, not the death of the criminal.

§ 5. **Fabius Pictor,** the historian, for whom see the Introd. The cognomen of the family was derived from a Fabius of whom Pliny writes, N. H. 35. 4, *apud Romanos honos mature huic (pingendi) arti contigit. Siquidem cognomina ex ea Pictorum traxerunt Fabii clarissimæ gentis: princepsque ejus cognominis ipse ædem Salutis pinxit anno urbis conditæ* CCCCL, *quæ pictura duravit ad nostram memoriam.* The painter's art was afterwards less respected, *postea non est spectata honestis manibus*, and though a certain Antistius Labeo took to it professionally *ea res in risu et contumelia.*

Delphos ad oraculum. This phrase also is found in the earliest reported case of Roman recognition of Delphi in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus I. 56. 5.

suppliciis. Used in an archaic sense for *supplicationibus.*

§ 6. **minime Romano sacro.** Yet the old forms of devotion to the *dii manes* as illustrated in the story of Curtius and

the Decii, and in the elaborate formula quoted by Livy VIII. 9. 5, point to an early sacrifice of human victims. The ancient usage of the *ver sacrum* has probably a like bearing. A few years before there had been a similar case in the Gallic war. The language of Pliny implies that the victims bore a representative character, as did the Decii in their devotion for Rome. Pliny N. H. 38. 2, *Boario vero in foro Græcum Græcamque defossos aut aliarum gentium, cum quibus tum res esset, etiam nostra ætas vidit.*

P. 140, § 8. **legio tertia.** There is probably some confusion here, as the third legion seems to have fought at Cannæ, cf. 53. 2.

Teanum Sid., spoken of by Strabo v. 3. 9 as commanding the Via Latina, and the most important town upon it between Rome and Capua.

§ 9. **prætextatos**, i.e. boys not yet in their seventeenth year when the robe broidered with the broad band of purple (*prætexta*) was exchanged for the *toga virilis*.

§ 10. **ex formula**, i.e. in accordance with the special terms of their alliance to Rome. Cf. XXVII. 10. 2 where eighteen *coloniæ* profess their readiness to send larger contingents than they were by law obliged to levy.

Arma, tela, alia. An example of asyndeton frequent in business details.

§ 11. **servitiis**, the abstract for the concrete *servi*, of frequent use in L.

vellentne militare. Hence the name *volones* applied to them: according to Macrobius I. 11. 30 it was not the first time they had been used.

c. LVIII. § 2. **sicut ante ad Trebiam.** This was not mentioned by Livy at the time, though in 7. 5 it was specified in the case of the prisoners at L. Trasimene.

§ 3. **Et...et...** imply a contrast rather than a mere conjunction.

P. 141, § 4. **equiti quingenos.** This was not contained in the stipulations of 52. 3.

§ 5. **quamcunque.** Often used by Livy as here without a verb.

§ 8. **minime Romani.** Cf. I. 53. 4, *minime arte Romana fraude ac dolo.*

§ 9. **dict. verbis.** 'In the name of the d.' Cf. Cic. Ep. ad Att. XVI. 11, *Atticæ meis verbis suavium des.*

c. LIX. § 1. **senatus...datus est.** Cf. note on XXI. 12. 8.

Patres conscripti. The writers generally thought that this phrase denoted the original senators of patrician origin, and the later enrolled of plebeian rank, thus Livy II. 1. 7, [Brutus] *patrum numerum primoribus equestris gradus electis ad trecentorum summam explevit: traditumque inde fertur, ut in senatum vocarentur qui patres quique conscripti essent.* Servius ad Æn. I. 426 ascribes them to an earlier change, *conscriptos qui post a Servio Tullio e plebe electi sunt.* But it is unlikely that the *plebs* was admitted in such early times to the ruling council, and *conscribere* is simply to enrol, as in the expressions *conscribere exercitum, tribum, collegia.* It is probable that *patres conscripti* meant only 'Those put upon the roll of the Senate,' and so 'Members of the Senate.' Cf. Willems Sénat. p. 39.

P. 142, § 7. **a Gallis auro,** i.e. after the capture of Rome B.C. 390.

patres vestros, i. e. the fathers of the senators before whom the speech was delivered. It was however more than 60 years since the battle with Pyrrhus near Heraclea. The senate, though filled with ex-officials, was practically confined to the ruling families of Rome.

§ 8. **nec supersumus nisi.** 'And only those of us survive,' &c.

§ 9. **ne in acie q. fuerunt.** This is Madvig's correction of the *refugerunt* of the MSS. which had been long noticed as suspicious in connection with *in acie.* Perizonius suggested *ex acie.* W. objects to *fuerunt* that Polybius represents *all* the prisoners as the garrison left in the camp, but this does not seem very forcible.

§ 10. **extulisse.** The use of the infin. perfect with *velle* is of frequent occurrence, when the result rather than the progress of the action is to be expressed. The old laws commonly have it in prohibitions, as *Ne Baccanal habuisse velit,* so Horace, Sat. II. 3. 187, *ne quis humasse velit Aiacem Atride vetas cur.* Cf. I. 2. 28, *sunt qui nolint tetigisse.* Zumpt, 590.

gloriati sint. As the subj. of the future perfect, this word like *extulisse* expresses the action in a livelier form as a completed result. Cf. XXX. 14. 5, *nulla...virtutum...est qua ego æque ac temperantia...gloriatus fuerim.*

§ 12. **nam si** elliptically. 'I compare our money price, and not our worth, for,' &c.

P. 143, § 14. **avarior an crud.** Cf. note on XXI. 4. 9.

§ 15. **moveat...cernatis.** The pres. is used to represent the scenes as pictured at the moment to the fancy.

§ 16. **Intueri.** The doors of the senate-house were left open, while the friends of the prisoners crowded round.

§ 17. **mediusfidius.** Equivalent to 'So help me the God of Faith,' *fidius* being connected with *fides*, *fido*, *fœdus*, as the genius of *fidelity* in social intercourse, such as the *Sermo Sancus* was among the Sabines. Analogous to the formation of the word are forms like *edepol* = *O deus Pollux*.

indigni ut. Less frequent than the use of *qui*, but in XXIII. 42. 13 both constructions are combined. *Si modo quos ut socios haberes dignos duxisti, haud indignos iudicas quos in fidem receptos tuearis.*

§ 18. **Suum quisque h.**, i. e. 'We may not be all of the same spirit, but I for my part,' &c.

c. LX. § 2. **arbitris.** Cf. I. 41. 3, *Tanaquil claudi regiam iubet, arbitros eiecit.* The strangers bidden to withdraw were the envoys lately heard.

§ 3. **prohibendos.** Cf. III. 28. 7, *ad prohibenda circumdari opera.* Madvig compares this use of the gerundive with the personal use of the passive *iubeor* in such sentences as XLII. 31. 2, *in Macedoniam sena millia peditum scribi iussa.* Suet. Tib. 11, *iussi sunt omnes ægri in publicam porticum deferri.*

§ 4. **prædibusque ac prædiis cavendum populo.** This is a customary formula in all cases of security given to the state, and commonly limited to such cases by the words *publice*, *in publicum*, or *populo*. The *prædes*, written *prævides* in the *lex agraria*, were the sureties who were bound over; they were to be landowners, and their *prædia* (*præhendia*) might be seized upon in case of default (*ea pignore data publice mancipio fidem præstant.* Varro l. l. v. 40). The legal characteristics of these *prædia* are stated Cic. pro Flacc. 32. 79, *quæro sintne ista prædia censui censendo, habeant ius civile, sint necne sint mancipii*, that is, they must be freehold under strict Roman law. The formula occurs in the *Lex Malacitana* of the 1st century of the Empire, where see the comment of Mommsen, p. 470.

P. 144, § 5. T. Manlius Torquatus. Descended from an ancestor of like *prænomen* and *nomen*, whose title of *Torquatus* is explained by Livy, VII. 10, as derived from the collar (*torques*) of the Gaul whom he slew.

§ 11. **Si, ut...si, ut.** In both cases Madvig has corrected the *sicut* of the MSS. which gives an awkward turn to the sentence. He notes a similar mistake in the MSS. in VII. 13. 8 and XXXIV. 2. 7, as also Tac. Hist. I. 83, *sicubi* for *si ubi*.

P. Decius, B.C. 340 near Saticula. Cf. VII. 34.

P. 145. Calpurnius Flamma in B.C. 258 near Camarina.

§ 15. **deminuti...capite.** The *caput* comprised the sum of the rights implied in personal freedom, civil and family status, and change in any of these respects might bring a *deminutio capitis* with it. The forfeiture of freedom was of course the worst or *dem. maxima*. In the case of those who had given themselves up with arms in their hands it could not be recovered easily by the forms of *postliminium*.

abalienato. Madvig's correction for *abalienati* of the MSS. Livy uses the word elsewhere either absolutely or with a preposition. It would seem natural to say *abalienari ab aliqua re*, in the sense of being estranged from a place or pursuit, but not from a right (*jure*).

§ 17. **conati sunt, ni** elliptically put for 'and might have succeeded if,' &c.

P. 146, § 20. **nam 'fortes'** elliptically implies the reason why *boni fidelesque* was said instead of the usual combination *fortes fideles*.

§ 21. **favisse.** The MSS. read *fuisse ut*, which is evidently corrupt. W. corrects it to *fuisse usui* which sounds ill and is somewhat weak, while Madvig's suggestion is spirited and balances *invidere* in the next line.

§ 24. **ante secundam h.**, i.e. after sunrise.

§ 25. **Hæc vobis.** 'This, mark you,' &c. Cf. Hor. Epist. I. 3. 15, *Quid mihi Celsus agit?* It is called by grammarians the *dativus ethicus*.

§ 26. **Et vos.** Most MSS. have *quos*, which probably grew out of the abbreviation for *et* and *uos*.

et is inserted by Madvig to avoid an awkward asyndeton which sounds ill after *cunct. ac manetis*.

P. 147, c. LXI. § 5. **decem primos**, like the *δέκα τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους* of Polybius—those of highest social status chosen as the representatives.

ita admissos...ne t. 'Admitted on the understanding that,' &c., an ellipse not unfrequent in the case of *ita...ne* in Livy as VII. 31. 1. Cf. the use of *tantum ne ... reciperentur*, XXI. 19. 5.

§ 7. **novos legatos.** 'The last comers.' So *novi milites* 'recruits.'

§ 8. **victosque paucis sent.** 'Outvoted by a small majority.'

§ 9. **proximis censoribus.** Not 'by' but 'in the time of,' as *consule Manlio.*

notis ignominiisque. The censors could expel members from the Senate, or strike off the roll of the knights (*equum adimere*), or remove from a country tribe to a city tribe (*tribu movere*), or disfranchise altogether (*ærarium facere*). These powers of moral censure grew out of the large authority vested in them for taking the census of the population. At such times the *nota* of their disapproval was affixed to the name upon the roll.

P. 148. **omni deinde vita.** 'For the rest of his life.' An adjectival use of the adverb, which is frequent in our author.

caruerint. 'Abstained from.' Cf. Cic. Mil. 7. 18, *caruit foro postea Pompeius, caruit senatu, caruit publico.*

§ 11. **Defecere.** A summary account is here given of the defections of the following years. Central Italy remained for the most part constant to Rome, except her old rivals of Samnium, while the alien peoples fell away.

Atellani. Known chiefly in connection with the *fabulæ Atellanæ* of which L. speaks VII. 2. 10 in his sketch of the early comedy of Italy.

§ 12. **Uzentini.** Represented by Ugento to the north-west of the Iapygian promontory.

§ 13. **Romam adventum.** Verbal substantives implying motion are often accompanied by an accusative without a preposition, so *reditus*, *legatio*, *introitus*, *concursatio* as in examples collected by Fabri.

§ 14. **consuli ... gratiae actae.** Frontinus Str. IV. 5. 6 says that Varro refused the offer of the Senate to make him dictator, on the ground that the office should fall on a more fortunate man. But he often served afterwards in posts of trust or honour, a fact which discredits the accounts of his antecedents as given in Livy.

§ 15. **nihil recusandum suppl.** Carthage is said to have degraded or even crucified her commanders who were unfortunate. Cf. Polyb. I. 11, Diod. xx. 10.

APPENDIX I.

ON THE ROUTE OF HANNIBAL.

The passage of Hannibal across the Alps was even in Livy's days a controverted question, as we may gather from his words (xxi. 38. 6) '*ambigi quanam Alpes transierit.*' It is still matter of dispute, and endless varieties of route have been proposed, most of which however are hopelessly at variance with the language of the ancient writers, or with the nature of the ground, as since explored. More or less definite statements on the subject are found in the following authorities.

1. Polybius was born during the war, and after some time spent in public life in Greece, was taken as one of the Achæan hostages to Rome. He lived there in the society of distinguished men, whose fathers might have taken part in the great struggle; he sought, as he tells us, information from contemporary witnesses, and travelled himself among the Alps to gather further knowledge in the scenes of the events. He was eminently accurate and truthful as a writer, and his authority is undoubtedly first-rate. His account is found iii. 35—60.

2. We have the narrative of Livy (xxi. 23—38), who wrote two centuries after the second Punic war began. His work was on too large a scale to admit of very special studies for the period before us; he makes no claim to personal knowledge of the localities in question; his descriptions of topography are often vague and indistinct; and on all grounds his evidence on these points must rank far lower than that of the Greek writer.

3. There is a passage bearing on this subject in the life of Hannibal by Cornelius Nepos, the contemporary and friend of Cicero, *Ad eas (Alpes) posteaquam venit quæ Italiam ab Gallia sejungunt, quas nemo unquam cum exercitu ante eum præter Herculem Graium transierit, quo facto is hodie saltus Graius appellatur, Alpicos conantes prohibere transitum concidit.*

The value of this passage turns upon the meaning of *is saltus*. It might refer solely to the pass of Hercules, but as the writer must have known the traditions of the Gallic hordes who crossed the Alps, it is more probable that he is specially referring to the Graian chain, as that over which both Hercules and Hannibal had passed.

4. Some lines of Varro, the learned writer on antiquities at the close of the Republic, are quoted for us by Servius in his commentary on Vergil x. 13: *quas (Alpes) quinque viis Varro dicit transiri posse: una quæ est juxta mare per Ligures: altera qua Hannibal transiit: tertia qua Pompeius ad Hispaniense bellum profectus est: quarta qua Hasdrubal de Gallia in Italiam venit: quinta quæ quondam a Græcis possessa est, quæ exinde Alpes Graiæ appellantur.*

5. Strabo, who wrote under Tiberius, cites Polybius as mentioning four passages across the Alps: *τέτταρας ὑπερβάσεις ὀνομάζει μόνον· διὰ Λιγύων μέν, τὴν ἔγγιστα τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει· εἶτα τὴν διὰ Ταυρίνων, ἣν Ἀννίβας διῆλθεν· εἶτα τὴν διὰ Σαλασσῶν· τετάρτην δὲ διὰ Ραιτῶν*. IV. 6. 12. Here it should be noted that the important words *ἣν Α. δ.* do not appear in a MS. of great value (Ep. Vat. 482), that if genuine, they may easily have been transplaced, or that they may be regarded as a comment of Strabo, rather than an extract from Polybius. Strabo himself shows elsewhere little interest in the route of Hannibal, and does not mention it where it would naturally occur.

Now if we turn to the third book of Polybius we shall find that the whole journey from *Carthago Nova* to the Italian plains is definitely measured. We are told that there were 2600 stadia to the river *Iberus*, and thence to *Emporeion* 1600, and 1600 more to the passage of the Rhone. From the Rhone to the beginning of the Alps (*πρὸς τὴν ἀναβολὴν τῶν Ἄλπεων*) there were 1400, while the remainder of the way (*λοιπαὶ αἱ τῶν Α. ὑπερβολαί*) was 1200 stadia.

As far as the Pyrenees there is no doubt about the route, but much depends upon the place at which the Rhone was crossed, as that becomes the starting-point for future measurements.

The description of Polybius clearly indicates a passage near the town of Orange, about the village of Roquemaure, as that is halfway between the river's mouth and its junction with the Isère, while it should be according to the historian four days' march to either point. The actual distance of 75 miles to the Isère is in close harmony with the 600 stadia implied in his latter statements. There is also a long stretch of broad stream unbroken by any islands to suit with the words *κατὰ τὴν*

ἁπλῆν ῥύσιν. It is moreover above the junction with the Durance, to cross over which would have been a needless labour for the army.

The other place suggested near Beaucaire and Tarascon is quite inconsistent with these data. In Livy there are no definite statements on the subject to point to any special place. After the passage of the Rhone however he says that Hannibal pushed on inland to avoid all contact with the Roman army, but his route was probably decided on beforehand, and he was guided by the Gauls, who had invited him to Italy, and who would naturally lead him through the passes which would bring him with most ease into their cantons.

Onward to the Isère his route is certain, after that all is matter of debate.

Our two authorities give a like account of the island enclosed between the Rhone and the Isère—the *insula Allobrogum* of later days—and of the contests between the native powers, in which Hannibal took part. In Polybius we find besides the following data: (1) 'Hannibal having in ten days marched 800 stadia along the river, began the ascent of the Alps.' (2) We hear that the chieftain with whom he sided in the quarrel joined him in his march, and that the barbarians were kept in check in the plain country alike from fear of the cavalry, and of the native aid.

The words 'along the river,' παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν, are not in themselves definite. They have been taken to refer to the Isère which was spoken of not long before, and most critics accordingly trace the route of Hannibal along one or other of its banks. But there can be little doubt that the 'river' of the whole narrative is the Rhone, and in chapter 39 Polybius expressly says that they kept near it to the entrance of the mountain pass. Of course it is not to be supposed that it was tracked in all its windings, in the great bend for example which it makes at Lyons, but only that the general movement was in the direction of its stream. The country through which the march would lie was such that the cavalry could be used to good effect, while the left bank of the Isère would not at all meet this condition, and the right one would only partially fulfil it. In both cases the mountain country comes in sight too soon, and the ascent (ἀναβολή) must have begun long before they had traversed 800 stadia of road, or made their ten days' leisurely advance, in constant fear of an attack.

Both these conditions are complied with by the route, which following the Rhone up to Vienne, leaves it for a while in its great bend, and meets it once more at St Genix, and thence to the pass of Mont du Chat where the ascent may be taken to begin. That point once reached the way would naturally lead along the upper course of the Isère, through the Tarantaise,

[illegible] the Little St. Bernard [illegible] the valley of Aosta. In [illegible] the following reasons may be urged.

1. The local features of the pass agree at least as well as any other with the general description of Polybius, and the [illegible]

2. The pass called afterwards the Graian Alp was one of the best known and earliest used across the mountains. By it streams of invading Gauls had passed centuries before. Its neighbourhood was by far the most fertile of them all, and so best suited to supply an army on the march.

3. Its outlet was nearest to the country of the Gauls who had sent to invite the Punic forces. Their envoys would naturally know it best, and be most likely to guide the invaders in that course. Intractable as the Romans found at a later date the tribe of the *Salassi*, who held the upper valley of *Aosta*, there was no reason why they should obstruct the passage of the enemies of Rome, and the other tribes, *Libui* or *Lebeci*, who were settled lower down, may well have followed the policy of the powerful *Insubres*, and sympathised in their alliance with the strangers. Polybius therefore did not stay to mention them, indeed from the island of the *Allobroges* he records no names until he makes Hannibal issue from the Alps among the *Insubres*, the leading state of the Gallic confederacy against Rome. He gives his reasons for this silence, in the general ignorance that prevailed of the exact position of the tribes and localities in question.

Livy wrote, however, at a later date, when the Alpine tribes and names were far better known to the Italian public. His information therefore is more definite in that respect, and

seems to point to an entirely different route from that which has been traced above. After speaking of the civil strife among the natives of the Island, and then of the supplies furnished to Hannibal in return for his decisive succour, he makes him turn *ad lævam* in his way towards the Alps. Of the various explanations offered of this phrase, two only give a likely meaning. The first assumes that he retraced his steps across the Isère and down the Rhone, and then turned to the left up the banks of the river Drôme. The other view leaves the bulk of the army on the South of the Isère, while a detachment only crosses to decide the civil war, which done, the whole continues on its march along the Eastern or left bank up to Grenoble. But the latter version can make little of the words *in Tricastinos flexit* which are coupled with *ad lævam*, for the *Tricastini* lay further to the South, and their chief town, called afterwards '*Augusta Tricastinorum*,' may be most probably identified with Aoste on the Drôme, though by some placed lower down near 'St Paul trois châteaux' upon the Rhone. The advocates therefore of the march up the Isère, assume that the words in question have slipped out of their proper place in a passage which describes the march up the river towards the Island. Accepting the earlier explanation we may follow the track described by Livy along the Drôme up to Aoste, and thence to Die, which stands for *Dea Vocontiorum*, a powerful tribe here mentioned by him, whose northern borders reached up to the Isère and the Drac, while their frontier on the South-East extended far along the road to Gap and to Embrun, through which country Hannibal may have led his troops, skirting the lands of the *Tricorii* who were spread to the North-West. He would thus have reached the Durance, the *Druentia* of Livy, and have made his way to Briançon, and across the Mont Genèvre, known to the Romans of the time of Cæsar as the *Alpes Juliæ*, though afterwards called *Cottiæ*, after the native chieftain who did so much to improve the mountain roads about him to win the favour of Augustus. It would seem to have been the same route, though in a contrary direction, which Julius Cæsar followed in his march into Transalpine Gaul, as indicated in the words '*ab Ocelo, quod est citerioris provinciæ extremum, in fines Vocontiorum ulterioris provinciæ die septimo pervenit; inde in Allobrogum fines.*' B. G. I. 10. 5. It is the same track also in the main by which Livy v. 34 brings Bellovesus with his Gallic hordes through the *Tricastini*, and the *Taurini Saltus* into the plains of Lombardy where they settled, at the end of the regal period of Rome.

From the Island to the ascent itself, the narratives of Livy and Polybius have no points in common, the local names furnished by the former being entirely absent in the latter, while the other conditions of the march are quite distinct.

But in the description of the pass itself, in the struggles with the mountaineers, in the measurements of time, and in the accounts of the dangerous point of the descent where the road was swept away, there is often very close agreement in the language of the two, though Livy adds a few details such as those of the use of vinegar and fire to clear a passage through the rocks. The incidents, however, which they have in common are just those which can most easily be localized in any of the rival routes, and they must be regarded as the least important evidence upon the subject. But in chapter 38, when Livy has brought the Carthaginians to the plains of Italy, he pauses to notice the different opinions which were stated, and to give his reasons for the route which he had traced. The Pœnine Alps, the great St Bernard, seems to have been commonly regarded as the pass of Hannibal, and stress was laid on a false derivation of the word, as if it came from Pœnus. It was enough, he thought, to urge in answer that Germanic tribes held the entrance to this pass, and there could have been no motive to brave the stout resistance which they would probably have offered. The earlier writer Cælius Antipater, whose work on the Punic wars was largely used by Livy, brought the invaders through '*Cremonis Jugum*,' a mountain unknown to other authors, but which may remind us in its sound of the Cramont, and at any rate closely corresponds to the Little St Bernard, called the Graian Alps by Roman writers. But this leads into the Italian Val d'Aosta, the upper part of which was occupied by the *Salassi*, while the Gallic *Libui* held the lower country. Tradition commonly, says Livy, knows nothing of these names in this connection, but makes Hannibal issue from the mountains through the tribe of the *Taurini*, with whom he first came into hostile contact. The Roman historian admits that there was no sure evidence before him, and that he relies mainly on tradition; the account of Polybius he did not notice. But tradition in this matter was a guide of little value. From the time when Scipio found himself too late upon the Rhone, till he faced his enemy on the *Ticinus*, the Roman government had entirely lost sight of the Carthaginian leader. The country through which he passed was quite unknown to them, and no trustworthy information could be forwarded to Rome, or lodged in the official archives. The Gallic mountaineers remained long unsubdued, and the eventful tramp of many a later army effaced from their minds the memory of the march of Hannibal. The popular legend of two centuries later was hardly likely to be accurate in such details. It was known indeed that the *Taurini* were attacked before the collision with the legions, and it was natural to suppose that they denied him passage when he moved along their valley, though Polybius tells us that he recruited first his

soldiers' strength among the friendly Gauls, and then at their request made war upon the tribe whose town bequeathed its name, if not its site, to the Turin of modern times. It was commonly forgotten that he had been invited to the Po by the discontented Gauls, of whom the *Insubres* were the foremost clan, and that their guides would naturally lead him first to their own cantons, before they urged him to attack their neighbours.

To sum up then, it seems most probable, nay almost certain that the route adopted by the Roman writer was that from the Drôme to the Durance, and across the Mont Genèvre, the *Alpes Cottiæ* of the Roman Empire. It is also probable, though less evident, that Polybius believed the army to have made a longer circuit by the Rhone and the Tarentaise, across the Graian Alps, or what is now the Little St Bernard. If the two historians really are at issue, there is little doubt whose authority should stand the higher, as the earlier had higher qualities as an historian, and had made more special studies on this subject. General probabilities also are in favour of the easier, the lower, the better known, and the more favourably placed of the two passes. If any however prefer to think that the two accounts can be forced into agreement,—and most critics hitherto have assumed that this is possible—then it should be remembered that definite data in the form of proper names occur only in the account of Livy, and the problem must be to reconcile the earlier conditions in Polybius with the outlet through the Mont Genèvre. With the narrative of Livy we may probably connect the account of Varro above quoted, which distinguishes the route of Hannibal from that across the Graian Alps, and which may be due to reasoning from like data. He carries Pompeius by a different road to Spain, as does Sallust also in the fragment (Hist. III. 3) where he puts into that general's mouth the words *Per Alpes iter, aliud atque Hannibal, nobis opportunius patefeci*. But the statements in these cases are too vague to be critically handled.

It only remains now to deal with a third route—that over the Mont Cenis—which has found learned champions to advocate its claims. It should be stated at the outset that it is not certainly referred to by any ancient author, and there is no good evidence that it was known or used before the eighth century of our era when Pepin marched across it; but this is not of course conclusive, for Hannibal may have been guided over a pass that was else scarcely known, and Latin writers say too little of the Alps to enable us to reason surely from their silence in this case. But it is important to observe that the natural construction of our authors fails to suit the theory, at least in the form in which it is presented by its chief supporters, M. Larauza, Dr Ukert and Mr Ellis. These writers,

though differing in details, agree in the main features of the route, which they assume to have passed along the Southern bank of the Isère, across the Drac and the Romanche, and up the Val de Gresivaudan, at some point of which the beginning of the mountain ground is reckoned which extends over the heights that part the valleys of the Arc and of the Doria. They agree also in the attempt to reconcile the statements of both the ancient authors, by correcting them pretty freely where they see the need. In this we may note especially the following points.

1. It is supposed that Polybius mistook the Isère for the Rhone, though he travelled himself over the ground, and stated that the army kept near the latter river till they began to climb the heights.

2. The *Allobroges*, who are recorded as the native tribes with which the invaders came into collision in their way up to the Alps, are commonly assigned to the North of the Isère, which was afterwards the *insula Allobrogum*. The theory before us transfers them without the slightest evidence, to the southern bank, assuming that they had no definite borders, or that the name itself was quite a vague one, loosely used for Gallic tribes, and possibly still lingering in the Allevard near St Jean de Maurienne.

3. The march along the Isère inverts the description of Polybius. In the earlier stages the Carthaginians must have moved over rugged country ill suited for their horse, and exposed to native onsets, while the easier ground comes higher up in the Val de Gresivaudan, and no definite point can be agreed on to suit the measurement of distance given.

4. The passage of the Romanche would have been formidable in the face of the Gauls, who are described as repelled only by the cavalry or by the succour of a friendly chieftain.

5. The *Druentia* of Livy must be explained to be the Drac, which the track in question crossed, while it lay far away from the Durance, for which *Druentia* is the undoubted name in ancient times, known as it was as the line of communication across the Alps with Spain.

6. The character of the Mont Cenis itself has been compared minutely with the narrative before us, and with some forcing of the text it has been shown that the measurements of time and distance may possibly be verified. We need not stay to discuss these attempts. It is not difficult to find some features of resemblance in almost every pass to the scenes and incidents described upon the march, and if they were the only data we might well despair of any definite conclusion. White rocks can be found also near the road, such as that de la

Barmette in one account, or the rock of Baune according to another, and there are dangerous spots in the descent where the road might easily be swept away, and old snow lie long unmelted.

7. One argument indeed has been insisted on, that here alone could a point of view be found upon the summit, commanding an extensive prospect of the Italian plain, such as that which Hannibal is said to have had before him, when he tried to revive the drooping courage of his soldiers. The spot in question is not however on the road itself, but on a ridge which was little likely to have tempted the weary men to needless efforts through the snow for the sake of a fine view. Nor was the actual prospect of importance for the general's appeal. The phrase of Polybius on which stress has been laid (ἐνάργεια) more probably refers to the moral weight of evidence that Italy was within easy reach, than to any actual picture stretched out before the eyes.

The language of Livy is too definite indeed to be mistaken, *in promontorio quodam, ubi longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere jussis militibus Italiam ostentat*....XXI. 35. 7. But we must remember that Livy had little knowledge of the Alps; that he may easily have given a different colouring to the account of the general's address which he found in the old annalists; and that he was thinking more of rhetorical effect than of strict accuracy of local statements.

The three passes hitherto described are very far from being all of those whose rival claims have been supported. Almost every height which could possibly be crossed, and some indeed that are quite impassable for any but practised mountaineers, have been at some time advocated as the pass of Hannibal. Some routes have been disposed of by a fuller knowledge of the rugged country which lies between the Drac, the Romanche, and the Durance, and which until lately was almost unexplored, and ill described upon the maps. Some hopelessly conflict with the main data of the ancient authors, and the books or pamphlets written in their defence are only monuments of misplaced ingenuity and learning. None of these seems now to call for serious discussion.

It should be stated in conclusion that the claims of the Little St Bernard, or the Graian Alps, to be the pass intended by Polybius were recognized by General Melville in 1775, whose view was expanded by M. de Luc in 1818. Messrs Cramer and Wickham in the Dissertation of 1820 supported the same theory, and Mr Law in his masterly work upon the subject seems to have proved decisively that the evidence points to that conclusion, while Livy's pass must be the Mont Genèvre. Niebuhr and Mommsen have accepted the authority of Polybius in favour of the Graian Alps.

APPENDIX II.

EXCURSUS ON THE ROMAN RELIGION IN RELATION TO THE PRODIGIES IN LIVY XXI. 62 AND XXII. 10[1].

We must turn to the Antiquarians of Rome, rather than to the historians or the poets, if we would learn the characteristic features of the old Italian Worship, for in later days they were so overlaid by the exotic growth of Greek religion that it was not easy to recognize their earlier forms.

The Latin husbandman was deeply impressed by the sense of his dependence on the powers of earth and sky: at every turn his path was crossed by some supernatural being on whose influence, whether kindly or malign, his weal or woe was subject. He analysed by cool reflection all the processes of daily life from the cradle to the grave, and for every incident within the family or social circle, for every detail of husbandry he found some guardian Power which he worshipped as divine. The names, harsh and uncouth as they may seem to us, carried their meaning on their face, and expressed the limits of the powers assigned; they were at first probably but Attributes of the One Great Unknown; the Jupiter or Divus pater, who moved in mysterious ways through Nature. The deities of Italy were never dressed up in human shapes by fancy, and artless hymns were the only forms of poetry which grew out of their worship. But the ritual needed for it was laborious and complex; all the details as gathered in the course of ages by tradition had to be punctiliously observed, else prayers and offerings were deemed null and void. In the family the house-father taught his children; in larger groups the brotherhoods (*sodalicia*) passed on from hand to hand the saving knowledge, while for the State priestly guilds (*collegia*), which never could die out, kept in their custody the sacred lore, which like the fire upon the city's hearth, burnt always with a steady flame. Of these, the College of the Pontiffs was even in the earliest age of Rome the supreme guardian of the State Religion. It scarcely dealt with the spiritual life of the family and smaller social groups; it left to others the purely ministerial functions of the priest; its duty was to guard, to harmonize, and to interpret the Public Code

[1] Compare Bouché-Leclercq, *Les Pontifes de l'Ancienne Rome*; Preller, *Römische Mythologie*.

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The value of this passage turns upon the meaning of *in saltus*. It might refer solely to the pass of Hercules, but as the writer must have known the traditions of the Gallic hordes who crossed the Alps, it is more probable that he is specially referring to the Graian chain, as that over which both Hercules and Hannibal had passed.

4. Some lines of Varro, the learned writer on antiquities at the close of the Republic, are quoted for us by Servius in his commentary on Vergil x. 13: *quas* (*Alpes*) *quinque viis Varro dicit transiri posse: una quæ est juxta mare per Ligures: altera qua Hannibal transiit: tertia qua Pompeius ad Hispaniense bellum profectus est: quarta qua Hasdrubal de Gallia in Italiam venit: quinta quæ quondam a Græcis possessa est, quæ exinde Alpes Graiæ appellantur.*

5. Strabo, who wrote under Tiberius, cites Polybius as mentioning four passages across the Alps: *τέτταρας ὑπερβάσεις ὀνομάζει μόνον· διὰ Λιγύων μὲν, τὴν ἔγγιστα τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει· εἶτα τὴν διὰ Ταυρίνων, ἣν Ἀννίβας διῆλθεν· εἶτα τὴν διὰ Σαλασσῶν· τετάρτην δὲ διὰ Ραιτῶν.* IV. 6. 12. Here it should be noted that the important words *ἣν Α. δ.* do not appear in a MS. of great value (Ep. Vat. 482), that if genuine, they may easily have been transplaced, or that they may be regarded as a comment of Strabo, rather than an extract from Polybius. Strabo himself shows elsewhere little interest in the route of Hannibal, and does not mention it where it would naturally occur.

Now if we turn to the third book of Polybius we shall find that the whole journey from *Carthago Nova* to the Italian plains is definitely measured. We are told that there were 2600 stadia to the river *Iberus*, and thence to *Emporeion* 1600, and 1600 more to the passage of the Rhone. From the Rhone to the beginning of the Alps (*πρὸς τὴν ἀναβολὴν τῶν Ἀλπέων*) there were 1400, while the remainder of the way (*λοιπαὶ αἱ τῶν Α. ὑπερβολαί*) was 1200 stadia.

As far as the Pyrenees there is no doubt about the route, but much depends upon the place at which the Rhone was crossed, as that becomes the starting-point for future measurements.

The description of Polybius clearly indicates a passage near the town of Orange, about the village of Roquemaure, as that is halfway between the river's mouth and its junction with the Isère, while it should be according to the historian four days' march to either point. The actual distance of 75 miles to the Isère is in close harmony with the 600 stadia implied in his latter statements. There is also a long stretch of broad stream unbroken by any islands to suit with the words *κατὰ τὴν*

ἁπλῆν ῥύσιν. It is moreover above the junction with the Durance, to cross over which would have been a needless labour for the army.

The other place suggested near Beaucaire and Tarascon is quite inconsistent with these data. In Livy there are no definite statements on the subject to point to any special place. After the passage of the Rhone however he says that Hannibal pushed on inland to avoid all contact with the Roman army, but his route was probably decided on beforehand, and he was guided by the Gauls, who had invited him to Italy, and who would naturally lead him through the passes which would bring him with most ease into their cantons.

Onward to the Isère his route is certain, after that all is matter of debate.

Our two authorities give a like account of the island enclosed between the Rhone and the Isère—the *insula Allobrogum* of later days—and of the contests between the native powers, in which Hannibal took part. In Polybius we find besides the following data: (1) 'Hannibal having in ten days marched 800 stadia along the river, began the ascent of the Alps.' (2) We hear that the chieftain with whom he sided in the quarrel joined him in his march, and that the barbarians were kept in check in the plain country alike from fear of the cavalry, and of the native aid.

The words 'along the river,' παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν, are not in themselves definite. They have been taken to refer to the Isère which was spoken of not long before, and most critics accordingly trace the route of Hannibal along one or other of its banks. But there can be little doubt that the 'river' of the whole narrative is the Rhone, and in chapter 39 Polybius expressly says that they kept near it to the entrance of the mountain pass. Of course it is not to be supposed that it was tracked in all its windings, in the great bend for example which it makes at Lyons, but only that the general movement was in the direction of its stream. The country through which the march would lie was such that the cavalry could be used to good effect, while the left bank of the Isère would not at all meet this condition, and the right one would only partially fulfil it. In both cases the mountain country comes in sight too soon, and the ascent (ἀναβολή) must have begun long before they had traversed 800 stadia of road, or made their ten days' leisurely advance, in constant fear of an attack.

Both these conditions are complied with by the route, which following the Rhone up to Vienne, leaves it for a while in its great bend, and meets it once more at St Genix, and thence to the pass of Mont du Chat where the ascent may be taken to begin. That point once reached the way would naturally lead along the upper course of the Isère, through the Tarantaise,

and over the Little St Bernard to the valley of Aosta. In favour of this route the following reasons may be urged.

1. The local features of the pass agree at least as well as any other with the general description of Polybius, and the detailed accounts of the measurements of space and time, with the 15 days of march, that is, and the 1200 stadia of way. The valley was a fertile one, and the native town which they attacked and pillaged may well have enriched them with its plunder. The λευκόπετρον of the narrative may be probably identified with the 'Roche Blanche' on the Reclus. The pass is steeper on the Italian side, and the dangers therefore of the descent would have been naturally greater, and in the ravine below 'la Tuile' there is a place where the old snow might long remain unmelted, and the road for some way is much exposed to avalanches. Here therefore Hannibal might find the track completely swept away, and be obliged to halt until a new path was cut upon the mountain side. Though the pass itself is comparatively low, the season was advanced, and fresh snow had lately fallen. The climate was possibly more severe in those days than at present, and the hardships seemed more fearful to an army from the South.

2. The pass called afterwards the Graian Alp was one of the best known and earliest used across the mountains. By it, streams of invading Gauls had passed centuries before. Its neighbourhood was by far the most fertile of them all, and as such best suited to supply an army on the march.

3. Its outlet was nearest to the country of the Gauls who had sent to invite the Punic forces. Their envoys would naturally know it best, and be most likely to guide the invaders on that course. Intractable as the Romans found at a later date the tribe of the *Salassi*, who held the upper valley of Aosta, there was no reason why they should obstruct the passage of the enemies of Rome, and the other tribes, *Libui* or *Lebeci*, who were settled lower down, may well have followed the policy of the powerful *Insubres*, and sympathized in their alliance with the strangers. Polybius therefore did not stay to mention them, indeed from the island of the *Allobroges* he records no names until he makes Hannibal issue from the Alps among the *Insubres*, the leading state of the Gallic confederacy against Rome. He gives his reasons for this silence, in the general ignorance that prevailed of the exact position of the tribes and localities in question.

Livy wrote, however, at a later date, when the Alpine tribes and names were far better known to the Italian public. His information therefore is more definite in that respect, and

seems to point to an entirely different route from that which has been traced above. After speaking of the civil strife among the natives of the Island, and then of the supplies furnished to Hannibal in return for his decisive succour, he makes him turn *ad lævam* in his way towards the Alps. Of the various explanations offered of this phrase, two only give a likely meaning. The first assumes that he retraced his steps across the Isère and down the Rhone, and then turned to the left up the banks of the river Drôme. The other view leaves the bulk of the army on the South of the Isère, while a detachment only crosses to decide the civil war, which done, the whole continues on its march along the Eastern or left bank up to Grenoble. But the latter version can make little of the words *in Tricastinos flexit* which are coupled with *ad lævam*, for the *Tricastini* lay further to the South, and their chief town, called afterwards '*Augusta Tricastinorum*,' may be most probably identified with Aoste on the Drôme, though by some placed lower down near 'St Paul trois châteaux' upon the Rhone. The advocates therefore of the march up the Isère, assume that the words in question have slipped out of their proper place in a passage which describes the march up the river towards the Island. Accepting the earlier explanation we may follow the track described by Livy along the Drôme up to Aoste, and thence to Die, which stands for *Dea Vocontiorum*, a powerful tribe here mentioned by him, whose northern borders reached up to the Isère and the Drac, while their frontier on the South-East extended far along the road to Gap and to Embrun, through which country Hannibal may have led his troops, skirting the lands of the *Tricorii* who were spread to the North-West. He would thus have reached the Durance, the *Druentia* of Livy, and have made his way to Briançon, and across the Mont Genèvre, known to the Romans of the time of Cæsar as the *Alpes Juliæ*, though afterwards called *Cottiæ*, after the native chieftain who did so much to improve the mountain roads about him to win the favour of Augustus. It would seem to have been the same route, though in a contrary direction, which Julius Cæsar followed in his march into Transalpine Gaul, as indicated in the words '*ab Ocelo, quod est citerioris provinciæ extremum, in fines Vocontiorum ulterioris provinciæ die septimo pervenit; inde in Allobrogum fines.*' B. G. I. 10. 5. It is the same track also in the main by which Livy v. 34 brings Bellovesus with his Gallic hordes through the *Tricastini*, and the *Taurini Saltus* into the plains of Lombardy where they settled, at the end of the regal period of Rome.

From the Island to the ascent itself, the narratives of Livy and Polybius have no points in common, the local names furnished by the former being entirely absent in the latter, while the other conditions of the march are quite distinct.

But in the description of the pass itself, in the struggles with the mountaineers, in the measurements of time, and in the accounts of the dangerous point of the descent where the road was swept away, there is often very close agreement in the language of the two, though Livy adds a few details such as those of the use of vinegar and fire to clear a passage through the rocks. The incidents, however, which they have in common are just those which can most easily be localized in any of the rival routes, and they must be regarded as the least important evidence upon the subject. But in chapter 38, when Livy has brought the Carthaginians to the plains of Italy, he pauses to notice the different opinions which were stated, and to give his reasons for the route which he had traced. The Pœnine Alps, the great St Bernard, seems to have been commonly regarded as the pass of Hannibal, and stress was laid on a false derivation of the word, as if it came from Pœnus. It was enough, he thought, to urge in answer that Germanic tribes held the entrance to this pass, and there could have been no motive to brave the stout resistance which they would probably have offered. The earlier writer Cælius Antipater, whose work on the Punic wars was largely used by Livy, brought the invaders through '*Cremonis Jugum*,' a mountain unknown to other authors, but which may remind us in its sound of the Cramont, and at any rate closely corresponds to the Little St Bernard, called the Graian Alps by Roman writers. But this leads into the Italian Val d'Aosta, the upper part of which was occupied by the *Salassi*, while the Gallic *Libui* held the lower country. Tradition commonly, says Livy, knows nothing of these names in this connection, but makes Hannibal issue from the mountains through the tribe of the *Taurini*, with whom he first came into hostile contact. The Roman historian admits that there was no sure evidence before him, and that he relies mainly on tradition; the account of Polybius he did not notice. But tradition in this matter was a guide of little value. From the time when Scipio found himself too late upon the Rhone, till he faced his enemy on the *Ticinus*, the Roman government had entirely lost sight of the Carthaginian leader. The country through which he passed was quite unknown to them, and no trustworthy information could be forwarded to Rome, or lodged in the official archives. The Gallic mountaineers remained long unsubdued, and the eventful tramp of many a later army effaced from their minds the memory of the march of Hannibal. The popular legend of two centuries later was hardly likely to be accurate in such details. It was known indeed that the *Taurini* were attacked before the collision with the legions, and it was natural to suppose that they denied him passage when he moved along their valley, though Polybius tells us that he recruited first his

soldiers' strength among the friendly Gauls, and then at their request made war upon the tribe whose town bequeathed its name, if not its site, to the Turin of modern times. It was commonly forgotten that he had been invited to the Po by the discontented Gauls, of whom the *Insubres* were the foremost clan, and that their guides would naturally lead him first to their own cantons, before they urged him to attack their neighbours.

To sum up then, it seems most probable, nay almost certain that the route adopted by the Roman writer was that from the Drôme to the Durance, and across the Mont Genèvre, the *Alpes Cottiæ* of the Roman Empire. It is also probable, though less evident, that Polybius believed the army to have made a longer circuit by the Rhone and the Tarentaise, across the Graian Alps, or what is now the Little St Bernard. If the two historians really are at issue, there is little doubt whose authority should stand the higher, as the earlier had higher qualities as an historian, and had made more special studies on this subject. General probabilities also are in favour of the easier, the lower, the better known, and the more favourably placed of the two passes. If any however prefer to think that the two accounts can be forced into agreement,—and most critics hitherto have assumed that this is possible—then it should be remembered that definite data in the form of proper names occur only in the account of Livy, and the problem must be to reconcile the earlier conditions in Polybius with the outlet through the Mont Genèvre. With the narrative of Livy we may probably connect the account of Varro above quoted, which distinguishes the route of Hannibal from that across the Graian Alps, and which may be due to reasoning from like data. He carries Pompeius by a different road to Spain, as does Sallust also in the fragment (Hist. III. 3) where he puts into that general's mouth the words *Per Alpes iter, aliud atque Hannibal, nobis opportunius patefeci.* But the statements in these cases are too vague to be critically handled.

It only remains now to deal with a third route—that over the Mont Cenis—which has found learned champions to advocate its claims. It should be stated at the outset that it is not certainly referred to by any ancient author, and there is no good evidence that it was known or used before the eighth century of our era when Pepin marched across it; but this is not of course conclusive, for Hannibal may have been guided over a pass that was else scarcely known, and Latin writers say too little of the Alps to enable us to reason surely from their silence in this case. But it is important to observe that the natural construction of our authors fails to suit the theory, at least in the form in which it is presented by its chief supporters, M. Larauza, Dr Ukert and Mr Ellis. These writers,

though differing in details, agree in the main features of the route, which they assume to have passed along the Southern bank of the Isère, across the Drac and the Romanche, and up the Val de Gresivaudan, at some point of which the beginning of the mountain ground is reckoned which extends over the heights that part the valleys of the Arc and of the Doria. They agree also in the attempt to reconcile the statements of both the ancient authors, by correcting them pretty freely where they see the need. In this we may note especially the following points.

1. It is supposed that Polybius mistook the Isère for the Rhone, though he travelled himself over the ground, and stated that the army kept near the latter river till they began to climb the heights.

2. The *Allobroges*, who are recorded as the native tribes with which the invaders came into collision in their way up to the Alps, are commonly assigned to the North of the Isère, which was afterwards the *insula Allobrogum*. The theory before us transfers them without the slightest evidence, to the southern bank, assuming that they had no definite borders, or that the name itself was quite a vague one, loosely used for Gallic tribes, and possibly still lingering in the Allevard near St Jean de Maurienne.

3. The march along the Isère inverts the description of Polybius. In the earlier stages the Carthaginians must have moved over rugged country ill suited for their horse, and exposed to native onsets, while the easier ground comes higher up in the Val de Gresivaudan, and no definite point can be agreed on to suit the measurement of distance given.

4. The passage of the Romanche would have been formidable in the face of the Gauls, who are described as repelled only by the cavalry or by the succour of a friendly chieftain.

5. The *Druentia* of Livy must be explained to be the Drac, which the track in question crossed, while it lay far away from the Durance, for which *Druentia* is the undoubted name in ancient times, known as it was as the line of communication across the Alps with Spain.

6. The character of the Mont Cenis itself has been compared minutely with the narrative before us, and with some forcing of the text it has been shown that the measurements of time and distance may possibly be verified. We need not stay to discuss these attempts. It is not difficult to find some features of resemblance in almost every pass to the scenes and incidents described upon the march, and if they were the only data we might well despair of any definite conclusion. White rocks can be found also near the road, such as that de la

Barmette in one account, or the rock of Baune according to another, and there are dangerous spots in the descent where the road might easily be swept away, and old snow lie long unmelted.

7. One argument indeed has been insisted on, that here alone could a point of view be found upon the summit, commanding an extensive prospect of the Italian plain, such as that which Hannibal is said to have had before him, when he tried to revive the drooping courage of his soldiers. The spot in question is not however on the road itself, but on a ridge which was little likely to have tempted the weary men to needless efforts through the snow for the sake of a fine view. Nor was the actual prospect of importance for the general's appeal. The phrase of Polybius on which stress has been laid (ἐνάργεια) more probably refers to the moral weight of evidence that Italy was within easy reach, than to any actual picture stretched out before the eyes.

The language of Livy is too definite indeed to be mistaken, *in promontorio quodam, ubi longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere jussis militibus Italiam ostentat*....XXI. 35. 7. But we must remember that Livy had little knowledge of the Alps; that he may easily have given a different colouring to the account of the general's address which he found in the old annalists; and that he was thinking more of rhetorical effect than of strict accuracy of local statements.

The three passes hitherto described are very far from being all of those whose rival claims have been supported. Almost every height which could possibly be crossed, and some indeed that are quite impassable for any but practised mountaineers, have been at some time advocated as the pass of Hannibal. Some routes have been disposed of by a fuller knowledge of the rugged country which lies between the Drac, the Romanche, and the Durance, and which until lately was almost unexplored, and ill described upon the maps. Some hopelessly conflict with the main data of the ancient authors, and the books or pamphlets written in their defence are only monuments of misplaced ingenuity and learning. None of these seems now to call for serious discussion.

It should be stated in conclusion that the claims of the Little St Bernard, or the Graian Alps, to be the pass intended by Polybius were recognized by General Melville in 1775, whose view was expanded by M. de Luc in 1818. Messrs Cramer and Wickham in the Dissertation of 1820 supported the same theory, and Mr Law in his masterly work upon the subject seems to have proved decisively that the evidence points to that conclusion, while Livy's pass must be the Mont Genèvre. Niebuhr and Mommsen have accepted the authority of Polybius in favour of the Graian Alps.

APPENDIX II.

EXCURSUS ON THE ROMAN RELIGION IN RELATION TO THE PRODIGIES IN LIVY XXI. 62 AND XXII. 10[1].

We must turn to the Antiquarians of Rome, rather than to the historians or the poets, if we would learn the characteristic features of the old Italian Worship, for in later days they were so overlaid by the exotic growth of Greek religion that it was not easy to recognize their earlier forms.

The Latin husbandman was deeply impressed by the sense of his dependence on the powers of earth and sky: at every turn his path was crossed by some supernatural being on whose influence, whether kindly or malign, his weal or woe was subject. He analysed by cool reflection all the processes of daily life from the cradle to the grave, and for every incident within the family or social circle, for every detail of husbandry he found some guardian Power which he worshipped as divine. The names, harsh and uncouth as they may seem to us, carried their meaning on their face, and expressed the limits of the powers assigned; they were at first probably but Attributes of the One Great Unknown; the Jupiter or Divus pater, who moved in mysterious ways through Nature. The deities of Italy were never dressed up in human shapes by fancy, and artless hymns were the only forms of poetry which grew out of their worship. But the ritual needed for it was laborious and complex; all the details as gathered in the course of ages by tradition had to be punctiliously observed, else prayers and offerings were deemed null and void. In the family the house-father taught his children; in larger groups the brotherhoods (*sodalicia*) passed on from hand to hand the saving knowledge, while for the State priestly guilds (*collegia*), which never could die out, kept in their custody the sacred lore, which like the fire upon the city's hearth, burnt always with a steady flame. Of these, the College of the Pontiffs was even in the earliest age of Rome the supreme guardian of the State Religion. It scarcely dealt with the spiritual life of the family and smaller social groups; it left to others the purely ministerial functions of the priest; its duty was to guard, to harmonize, and to interpret the Public Code

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of Sacred Law. It knew the time-honoured methods by which each Power Divine must be approached; it alone had access to the ancient formularies of prayer, and all the nice rules of sacrificial usage. None but the Pontiffs could be trusted to draw up the Calendar from year to year, and determine all the questions of casuistry which were suggested by its fasts and feasts. For the worship of the Romans was full of Pharisaic scruples. The slightest deviation from old usage might vitiate a long round of ceremonial forms, and the whole service must begin afresh, or the jealous Power might withhold its favour. In Cato's work on Agriculture we find the author not content with rules of close economy and skilful farming; he must also add a sort of Liturgy or Common Prayer-Book for the use of the labourers upon the farm, and the rubrics, extracted as they doubtless were from the text-books of the Pontiffs, help to show us how laboriously painstaking was the temper of Roman worship. But with all its scrupulous care it could not but go wrong at times, the Sacred College therefore was called on to provide a remedial machinery to soothe the anger of the offended Powers. Was it a case merely of some ceremonial neglect? the mistake observed might be corrected, the faulty service be repeated (*instaurare*), the compensation made for the offence, and the expiation (*piaculum*) was held to be completed. This was indeed no absolution for a guilty conscience, for the forms prescribed dealt only with the outer act, and gave no promises of peace to minds diseased.

Often however no human eye had noted what was wrong, and it was left then for the gods to give their warnings through unearthly signs (*prodigia*). If the signs were given on private ground it rested with the owner of the land to set his house in order; but if the place was public ground, then the portent was a matter for the State (*publicum prodigium*), who must accept the charge (*suscipere*), and take the needful steps through her officials (*procurare prod.*) to satisfy the gods and set the public mind at rest. Here again was a wide field opened for the action of the Pontiffs. Others might shudder only in their ignorant panic, but they must learn to recognize the voice which spoke in portents, must turn over their old books and profit by the inductions of the past, must be ready, if they only could, to provide the state with their Authorized Version of God's Word to man. For this purpose, after due scrutiny of evidence, and rejection of the ill-attested (*quia singuli auctores erant* Livy v. 15. 1), the prodigies were chronicled with care from year to year in the priestly records, from which Livy drew so largely for his history. To isolate them from each other might mislead the student, rather they must be regarded as the scattered phrases of the message sent from

heaven, and skilled interpreters must piece them all together. Yet some recurring portents were met always with like forms of ceremonial (*procuratio*). A shower of stones called for a nine days' holiday, from the days of old king Tullus (*mansit solemne ut quandoque idem prodigium nuntiaretur, feriæ per novem dies agerentur* Livy I. 31. 3). If a bull was heard to speak with human sounds, a meeting of the Senate was called in open air (Pliny VIII. 70), in memory of the time perhaps when Latin farmers met among their herds to discuss in conclave the affairs of state.

When the scene of the portent was a shrine, or any clue was given to the Power which sent the warning, the College knew what offerings were likely to find favour, prescribed in some cases the *hostiæ majores*, the full-grown animals, confused in later days with the beasts of larger size, while in other cases they could tell that tender sucklings (*hostiæ lactentes*) would find most favour on the altars. Costly gifts could seldom come amiss, as tokens of the votaries' submission, so weighty offerings of gold or silver plate were stored up in the temple treasuries, or the choicest works of art in marble or in bronze were called in to represent the objects of popular gratitude or fear. In default of any special clue to the nature of the offence, or of the offended power, it might at least be well to have recourse to the ancient usage of *lustration*, to clear away the stains of possible pollution. The sin-offerings of the boar, the ram, the bull were duly made (*suovetaurilia*); the priestly train moved round the city walls (*amburvium*), or round the fields (*ambarvalia*), sprinkling the consecrated drops upon the bounds, and going through the long round of the traditional prayer, some passages of which Cato wrote out for like use among his country friends (*De Re Rustica* 141).

If the experience of the Pontifices was at fault, other advisers were called in. The *haruspices* especially were skilled in the Etruscan love of divination. They knew the language of the lightning, they could read strange characters scored upon the slaughtered victims, and to them therefore were referred the questions of the mysterious portents in the sky, or in animals of monstrous birth.

If the prodigies were fearful (*tætra*) and took the form of pestilence, or earthquake, or the like, and the need seemed very urgent, a newer fashion sometimes superseded the old machinery of the State Religion.

The Sibylline books had made their way to Rome, if we may trust tradition, as early as the period of the Tarquins. Borne to Rome by a wave of Hellenic influence which passed from the coast of Asia Minor along the Greek cities of Campania, the prophetic utterances gained a sanction from

the State, and a College of Interpreters to unfold or to apply their meaning (*decemviri sacris faciundis*). The frugal Senate was chary indeed of such appeals, for experience had proved that the Sibyll sold her advice dearly, and never spared the public purse. Now she recommended a costly deputation to beg some foreign deity to consent to house himself in Rome; sometimes a new temple must be built to lodge more worthily a recent visitor from Olympus; sometimes stately ceremonies might be enough if they were only of the newest fashion, but in each case we may note that some forward steps were taken in naturalizing the Greek Pantheon on Italian soil. So one after another the familiar forms of Greek mythology were recognized in the religion of the State, sometimes thinly disguised in Latin dress, more often with names and attributes almost unchanged, while the arrival of each upon the scene was marked by some enduring festival or shrine. To the same source may also be assigned the imposing ceremonies which were for the most part of foreign growth.

The *lectisternium*, first heard of in the year 399 B.C., (Livy v. 13. 6,) but often repeated later, agreed with some features of old Latin usage, but was specially connected with the characteristic forms of the Apollo-worship (*Theoxenia*). All was made ready for a costly banquet, and on each couch (*pulvinaria*) were laid the symbols of the deities to be appeased, while the viands from the feast, or offerings from the altars, were laid in solemn state before them. With these were commonly connected *supplicationes*, a form of General Litany or Processional Service, in which young and old, citizens and country folks, moved in long lines through all the streets to offer prayers in every temple where the *pulvinaria* were laid out to view. These in their details, as also in the occasions when we hear of them, remind us of the solemn Pæans by which Apollo was approached in times of thanksgiving or intercession. The Sibylline books did not fail also to encourage the system of vows (*vota*) which Roman usage had long sanctioned. Often in the crisis of the battle, or some time of urgent risk, magistrates had promised temples or costly offerings to their guardian powers, if only the tide of danger would be rolled away. And so when prodigies were rife, and panic spread, the advisers of the State appealed to the efficacy of solemn vows. One such may seem to call for special mention, as recorded in archaic language by the historian of the 2nd Punic war.

It had been an old Italian custom to promise to the gods in times of crisis the produce of the coming spring (*ver sacrum*), and the custom may have dated from the days of human sacrifice. For among the earliest stories of tribal movements in Central Italy, we read that in days of famine

such a *ver sacrum* had been vowed among the Sabine hills, and that when the young of that spring reached man's estate they were sent forth in search of some new homes, and that guided on their several paths by animals sacred to the Italian Mars, they made their way into Samnium and Picenum, and to other lands, where they accepted henceforth as their national symbols, the bull in Samnium, the woodpecker (*picus*) in Picenum, and the wolf for the *Hirpini*, whose forefathers had been led by it to their new homes. In the case above referred to the senate gave its sanction to the vow, but the Chief Pontiff was aware that ancient usage required the consent of the whole people, and a bill was drawn up by his instructions, to be submitted to the vote in the comitia. It was drawn up with scrupulous care that no little flaw, or unforeseen neglect, might vitiate the people's form of intercession, and indeed it was expressly stipulated that no sacrifice should lose its value if offered unwittingly upon a day of evil omen (*si atro die faxit insciens*).

APPENDIX III.

ON THE CHARACTER OF C. FLAMINIUS.

It is commonly believed that the memory of Flaminius has suffered grievous wrong from the hatred of the nobles of his day, which is reflected even in the narrative of Livy, and it may therefore be convenient to put together the little that is definitely told us of his life and doings. He came of a plebeian family, which had won as yet no curule honours, and he showed as tribune that he had the interests of the poorer citizens at heart. As a partial remedy for the economic evils of his times he proposed in an agrarian bill—the first after the Licinian laws—to divide among the needy much of the state domain available in Cisalpine Gaul (B.C. 231). The nobles in the senate stoutly opposed the measure, which was carried through the comitia in spite of their resistance.

The sanction of the senate was not technically needed to give a *plebiscitum* force of law, and the egotism of the governing classes may have justified this bold innovation of Flaminius, but it was a violent blow against the representative power in the state, and as such was noted by Polybius (II. 21) as the first ominous sign of constitutional decline. The aristocracy submitted with ill grace, and hampered him in his work of colonial distribution with ineffectual delays. Shortly after-

wards the government of Sicily fell to his lot as Prætor, and there is reason to believe that he endeared himself to the provincials by clean-handed justice (Livy xxxiii. 42). His promotion to the consulship did not follow till 222, when he endeavoured to crush the Cisalpine Gauls, already defeated at L. Telamon, by invading the country of the *Insubres*. In the only account of the campaign which we possess (Polyb. ii. 32) he appears to have been wanting in good faith towards the Gauls, and by the neglect of the common rules of strategy to have risked probable disaster, from which he was saved only by the steady valour of the legionaries and the forethought of the military tribunes.

Before the campaign was over he was summoned by the senate to resign his office, on the ground of some technical flaw in his election, but he would not open the despatch till the victory was won, and on his return persisted in entering Rome in forms of triumph, despite the refusal of the senate.

The resentment of the nobles was intense, and they forced a dictator to resign, who had been bold enough to name Flaminius as his Master of the Horse. But it is to the credit of the latter, that in his censorship of 219 he did not stoop to any petty jealousies of rival parties, only linking the memories of that high office with the Circus, and the great Highway which bore his name in after ages.

But it was partly due to his support that the bill of Claudius was passed, which forbade the Senatorian families to own merchant vessels, a law which rested no doubt in part on the aristocratic prejudice of old societies, but aimed also at protecting the provincials from sinister action on the part of Roman governors in the interest of Roman traders. If his generalship really was so questionable in the Gallic war, it is strange that he should have been re-elected to the consulship after the disaster of the Trebia.

There are reasons too for doubting the account of Livy which makes him leave Rome and enter office at Ariminum in contempt of all customary scruples, though military needs might well excuse neglect of purely formal duties. But Polybius is quite silent on the subject, though his informants had no love for Flaminius, and a legal measure, called probably *Lex Flaminia minus solvendi*, seems to point to the presence of the consul in the capital, although the evidence is not conclusive. The financial policy which it suggests accords indeed with his other measures in favour of the poorer classes, at the expense also of the wealthier.

The position of Flaminius at Arretium seems to have been well chosen for defence, and his plans were probably suggested by the campaign against the Gauls in 224. He must have heard of Hannibal's advance, and have shown no wish to

force an action, but after sending to his colleague at Ariminum to hasten to the defence of Rome, he was forced to move southward to effect a junction, and to keep the enemy meantime in view.

His one fatal error lay in the unguarded entry into the defile of Trasimene, where his warier rival closed the trap upon him. Aristocratic writers may have gladly taken him as a scapegoat, imagining the neglect of sacred forms as a partial cause of the disaster, and exaggerating the rashness and incapacity of the champion of the commons, just as modern critics may have dwelt too fondly on his fancied virtues because the nobles of his own day hated and maligned him.

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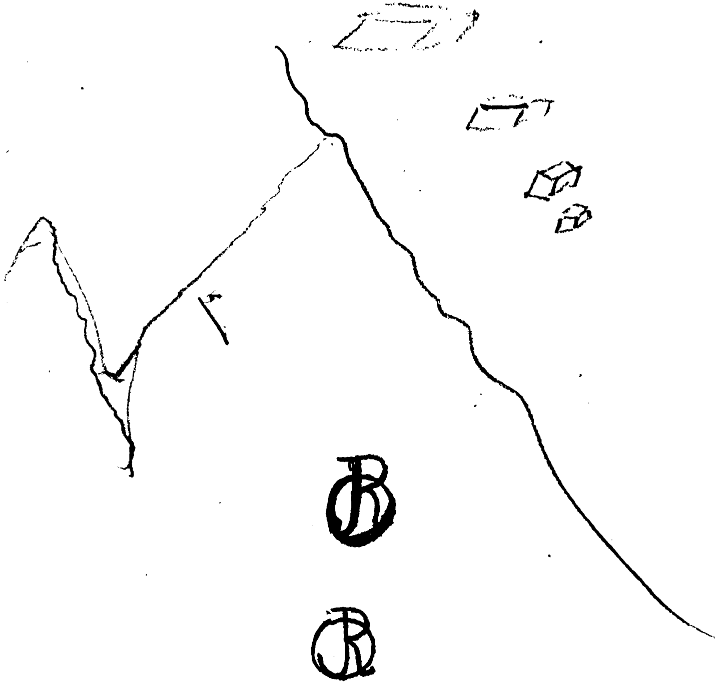
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